

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

WHO was Jesus? According to the Liberal theologians there is really no mystery. The answer to this, and to all other questions of theology, if you approach them with an open mind, is as simple as the multiplication table. A good deal simpler in fact; since even those of us who are not mathematicians remember from the days when we used to study John Stuart Mill, that it is by no means so obvious as we once supposed that two times two make four. If you seem to be up against a mystery you must have misunderstood the record. If the record obstinately refuses to be understood in any other sense, you cut it out with a pen-knife; and there you are!

In 'Jesus and the Christian Religion,' of which he published a second edition last year, Mr. Francis A. HENRY supported this simplified theology with great power and with much learning. In trying to answer the question: 'What think ye about the Christ?' we are met with another question which by common consent is of great moment: 'What did the Christ think of Himself?' Did He claim to be the Christ at all? Mr. HENRY replies that He did not. It is true that the creed of the earliest Church was comprised in the simple confession that Jesus was the Christ. This identification proved unfortunate, and for this identification Jesus was not to blame.

We bring forward the triumphal entry. Mr. HENRY replies that there was no triumphal entry. All that happened was that a passage in the Book of Zechariah, in which a King enters Jerusalem riding on an ass, was misinterpreted as referring to the Messiah, and then the incident of Jesus' Messianic entry into Jerusalem was invented to square with the supposed prophecy. We call attention to the trial scene, in which Jesus acknowledged His Messiahship in reply to the high priest's question. To this the answer is that we have no means of knowing what took place at the trial scene, since 'all the disciples forsook him, and fled.'

We fall back then on Peter's declaration, which we had always supposed to be decisive. Mr. HENRY places this scene 'at Cæsarea Philippi,' and with an exactitude which one hardly expects from such a quarter he gives us the date—'seventeen days before (Jesus') death.' Peter impulsively declared that Jesus was the Christ, possibly with a view to force the Master's hand; but Jesus would have none of it. He would not allow the people to regard Him as Messiah, for the obvious reason that He did not regard Himself in that light.

Another method of approach to the question 'Who was Jesus?' is represented by 'The Man Himself.' The author of this book is a pronounced eschatologist, who is quite unmoved by all that has

been written on the subject in recent years. He tramples on our most sensitive corns with light-hearted gaiety, and finds theological problems that have puzzled Christendom for millennia absurdly simple.

The Old Testament teaches 'that God is a great man' and that 'He is very fond of the smell of burning meat.' The prophets were Hebrew dervishes who assumed that in order to be believed they had to begin with incredible stories about their call to preach. 'There have been more plausible dervishes than Ezekiel.' Paul at heart was a Shaker.

It is not surprising, then, to learn that Jesus was a young and very much mistaken Jewish Rabbi. According to legend, the Prophet of Nazareth set up as a magician, turning water into wine, and so forth; but no such magical performances were attempted by the Nazarene. He was neither dervish nor charlatan, any more than he was a patriot. If we can only forget all that Christians have ever learned and taught us of Jesus, we shall find His figure take on 'a grandeur no theology has ever succeeded in giving Him.'

It is a great relief to turn from all this to the pages of Mark's Gospel. We take Mark as the earliest Gospel, and the least influenced by theological prepossessions. At first we seem to be reading a simple narrative of fact, written by one whose only desire is to give us information on a matter of supreme interest. But the more carefully we read, the less satisfied we are that that is all he is doing. We read again the stories of John's ministry, of Jesus' baptism, of His temptation, of the beginning of His ministry, of the call of the two pairs of brothers, of the events of the Sabbath day in Capernaum.

At the end of each story we seem to hear the writer challenge us with the question: 'Now who was this? Was He just one of ourselves? Was He just one of *themselves*, one, albeit a greater one,

of the company that began to form around Him?' Whatever He was to Mark, certainly He was not that. The simplicity with which the amazing story is told is apt to blind us to the mystery, implicit in every incident.

In 'The Messiah and the Son of Man' (noticed in a recent issue of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES), Professor A. S. PEAKE discusses some of these questions afresh with his accustomed incisiveness and erudition. The fact that Jesus was baptized by John may be taken as quite certain. If the baptism had not taken place, it would never have occurred to any follower of Jesus to invent the story. From Matthew's account of it we can see the kind of difficulties it soon caused in Christian minds. Further, in spite of the similarity of the Divine words with those heard at the Transfiguration, a critical study of the records seems to assure us that at Baptism Jesus heard the Divine declaration: 'Thou art my beloved Son.'

That Jesus did at this time begin His ministry harmonizes with the fact that at the Baptism He gained a special conviction of sonship. This conviction is the basis of the threefold temptation; and the third temptation probably also involved the conviction that He was Messiah.

Professor PEAKE also discusses the triumphal entry. It is not quite clear, he thinks, that the demonstration was designed as a welcome to the Messianic King. In Matthew and in Luke, the crowd gives to Jesus a welcome that is definitely Messianic. But in Mark, the earliest Gospel, their words need not imply any more than that Jesus is regarded as the harbinger of the Kingdom. But, whatever the entry meant to the people, it seems clear that in Jesus' own mind the action was forced upon Him by the necessity of fulfilling Messianic prophecy.

Professor PEAKE recognizes the difficulty of the question about the reliability of reports of the trial. Yet it is certain that information must

have leaked out. Formal evidence must have been given. And the peculiar form in which Jesus made His Messianic claim stamps it as genuine: in Matthew—'Thou hast said'; in Luke—'Ye say that I am'; in other words: 'I should not have used the term myself; but I admit that it is correct.'

Further, if Jesus did not claim to be Messiah, whence did the idea arise that He made this claim? It is possible, though by no means certain, that by the first Christian century Judaism had developed the doctrine of a suffering and slain Messiah. But Dt 21²³ ('he that is hanged is accursed of God') guarantees that the Jews did not contemplate a crucified Messiah. The crucifixion of Jesus was for them one of the proofs that He was *not* the Christ.

But for the same reason no Christian could have invented the story that the crucified Jesus had claimed to be the Christ. The fact was at first so puzzling to themselves, and caused them so much difficulty in their apologetic and in their missionary work, that nothing will account for this claim they made for Jesus but the certainty that Jesus had first of all made the claim for Himself.

In *The Christ of the New Testament* (reviewed in this issue), Mr. Paul Elmer MORE brings a live mind to bear on the subject. First, be it said, Mr. MORE is no traditionalist. He thinks, for example, that the story of the Virgin birth is 'so demonstrably a late intrusion into the life of Jesus, so manifestly legendary in construction, and withal so unessential to the Christian faith, that it has been abandoned by the majority of unprejudiced scholars.' He fully accepts the fact of the resurrection of Jesus, while not prepared to dogmatize on the fate of 'His fleshly tabernacle' or on the meaning of the story of the empty tomb.

In our inquiry about Jesus' testimony to Himself, we turn with Mr. MORE to the Fourth Gospel.

A few years ago such a procedure might have raised a smile; but since the contributions of Scott Holland, Garvie, and Manson to the study of the Fourth Gospel have been published it is possible for a student to make discriminating use of the material it supplies without losing caste.

Like other recent writers on this Gospel, he believes that at least two different strands are intertwined in it. On the one hand, we have the narrative portion, representing Jesus as a thaumaturgic being, basing His authority on His marvellous works; on the other hand, a set of discourses of Jesus, probably from the Apostle John. These discourses, like the Epistle, betray an author with 'a childlike simplicity of mind, a naïveté degenerating at times into something very close to garrulity, which suggests the loving and beautiful old age of an untrained intellect.'

But from these 'garrulous records' there flashes out of a sudden through the verbiage an isolated sentence, clear, ringing, condensed, profound, unforgettable. None but the Master could have coined this pure gold. 'Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid.' 'In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world.' 'This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you.'

Now among the Logia that represent the Speaker's testimony to Himself, some at least seem to be of this self-evidencing character. 'I and my Father are one.' 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.' 'I am the light of the world.' At the very least these sayings give us the impression left on the mind of a sympathetic hearer by the language of His adored Master, after long years of loving, brooding thought. Is this impression so very different, as we are often told it is, from the impression left by a study of the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels?

We might dwell on the royal unself-conscious-

ness of the words to the leper: 'I will; be thou clean'; or of such sayings as: 'Whosoever shall receive one of such children in my name receiveth me; and whosoever shall receive me, receiveth not me, but him that sent me.' But let us take, rather, one or two crucial passages. A great stronghold of those who believe in a humanitarian Christ is Jesus' rejection of the epithet '*Good Master*.' Mr. MORE turns their position by asking what we should think of a man to-day who, being addressed as good, should solemnly waive the epithet with the denial, 'No, only God is good'?

Tender consciences have been troubled because Jesus pleaded ignorance of the precise date of the end of the world. But again we ask, 'What should we say to a man who goes out of His way, while setting Himself above the angels, to discriminate between Himself and God the Father?' Once more, when Mrs. Humphry Ward was expatiating to Pater on the certain downfall of the orthodox views of Christ, instead of agreeing with her as she expected, Pater said: 'You think it's all plain. But I can't. There are such mysterious things. Take that saying—"Come unto me, all *yé* that are weary and heavy-laden."

The Liberal is ready with his answer. The whole of the passage beginning, 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth,' is poetry. Arrange it, as it ought to be arranged, in verse lengths, and it falls into 'the rhythmically balanced structure of ancient prophecy.' Not only so; it is not even original poetry. 'The thought and the very language are a close echo of Scripture, and can almost be reconstructed from verses out of the semi-canonical book of Sirach,' though in Sirach the speaker is personified Wisdom.

What then? Did Jesus not know the Scriptures as well as the writer of the Gospel? Is it incredible that in a moment of supreme exaltation He should have fallen into the true prophetic style? To

Mr. MORE, at least, the passage is in substance genuine, 'the very pith and marrow of the assumption that runs through the Synoptics and in the Fourth Gospel merges imperceptibly into the high theology of the Word.'

But even if we grant that the testimony of Jesus to Himself is something like the Christ of the creeds, does it follow that we must take Him at His own estimate? It is not within the scope of this book to discuss this question; but there are three things to be said. In the first place, to use a truism which yet is not a truism, Jesus never means more to us than He means to us. The dying thief whose Christology took the simple form, 'This man has done no harm,' had a more genuine and effective appreciation of Jesus than many who could conscientiously subscribe to our most elaborate statements of faith.

Further, the theory that we need not believe but must act as if we did believe, is a desperate make-shift: 'very ingenious, very pretty, but impracticable, and at heart a lie which the world will not tolerate.' Finally, the question at issue is not simply a theory of the Person of Christ, not even the truth of the Christian religion. What is at stake is the very possibility of religion. If the Divine nature has not directly revealed itself in Jesus Christ, we need not look to find God anywhere.

A remarkable article on 'Consensus and Immortality,' by the Rev. W. R. MATTHEWS, Dean of King's College, London, appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April. At the outset he referred to the two objections to the possibility of a future life. One is the scientific view of the world and of its evolution, which, it is alleged, makes such a faith untenable. But to this it may be replied validly, that to-day it is being admitted that evolution is at least patient of a teleological interpretation.

The second objection is that the dependence of

the mind on the body is so absolute that the continued existence of the former when the latter has ceased to function as a unity is inconceivable. The reply to this is the general reply to materialism, and the contention, of psychology in particular, that the mind or spirit is independent of the body.

The positive lines of argument are two. The proof of immortality is either empirical or philosophical. Empirical proof is the production of alleged instances of psychical events which can be explained only as the work of discarnate spirits. But, even if this were certain, it would demonstrate nothing more than the possibility of a future life. It could not establish the general truth or support a belief in immortality in the strict sense. And so the decision rests in the province of philosophy.

This proof has recently been powerfully presented by Professor PRINGLE-PATTISON. God, he says, is the Supreme Reality and the Supreme Value. His essential nature is love. And so the value of the finite world to the Spirit of the universe must lie in the spirits to whom He has given the capacity to make themselves in His image. The spirits themselves must be values to God, and if so, they are not made to be broken and cast aside and to be replaced by relays of others in a continual succession.

But there is another argument of which account must be taken, that from the consensus of many minds. As a matter of fact, the belief in a future is not one painfully and slowly acquired by humanity. There is scarcely any conviction so widespread, and the farther back we go, the firmer is the belief and the more general. It is true that often this belief is in no sense a source of hope and comfort to those who hold it. Often, too, it has failed to have any ethical value. Still it is there, for whatever reason held.

What, then, is the value of this consensus? Any consensus may be of value for either of two reasons. It may guarantee the correctness of a train of

reasoning. Or it may confirm the observation of some object which has been a matter of experience. So far as the question of immortality is concerned, there has been a remarkable agreement among thinkers from Socrates onwards as to the primacy of mind and value. But, striking as this is, we may not perhaps deduce our conclusion too readily from it.

The consensus on the subject of the future life is rather one of experience than one of rational deduction. The origin of religion is to be sought in a level of experience which is pre-rational. Beliefs about spirits were the first theology, but not the first religion. The days of the 'rationalist' hypothesis about the origin of religion are numbered. Religion begins with feeling in the presence of an object.

Similarly, the 'rationalist' explanation of the universal belief in a future life is out of the question. Apart from anything else, it would be surprising that the same hypothesis should occur independently to so many varied peoples. What, then, is the object in the presence of which this creative emotion arises which generates the belief in immortality? It is simply man's own self. It is the incomprehensible reality of his own being. His beliefs about a future are attempts to rationalize the mystery of his own self-consciousness.

That is why the consensus is so valuable. It is not the agreement in a chain of reasoning or its conclusion. It is agreement in a simple, profound experience, a perception which, because it is so simple and direct, is invariable and universal. This lies behind the primitive belief of the savages and the intellectual structures of the philosophers alike.

In the latest product of his pen, *The Doctrine of the Infallible Book* (S.C.M.; 1s. net), as in the old 'Lux Mundi' days, Dr. Charles GORE stands forth as the champion of a sane Biblical criticism.

The strange thing is that, at this time of day, such criticism should still be in need of defence. Did not Sir George Adam Smith assure us twenty-five years ago that, so far at least as the Old Testament was concerned, the battle had been fought and won, and that there was now nothing left but to pay the indemnity? And since then hundreds of books have been written from the frankly modern standpoint, which ought to have long ago convinced all who care for the Bible how constructive, how reverent, and how devout was the temper of those who had adopted that standpoint.

But every age has to fight its own battle. The old difficulties, already met and answered, re-emerge, and have to be met and answered again. The necessity for maintaining, in the interests alike of Truth and Religion, the rights of reasonable and temperate criticism, has been once more abundantly evidenced by the vigour of the Fundamentalist controversy which is raging in America. And Dr. GORE's able defence of these rights is welcome; for it is only too true, as he tells us he has reason to believe, that in England as well as in the United States 'there is a revival to-day of the position that faith in Christianity, as really the divinely-given gospel for the world, is bound up with the old-fashioned belief in the Bible as the infallible book.'

He writes this little book, at the request of the Student Christian Movement, to demolish this old-fashioned belief and to replace it by a better, which maintains that inspiration does not necessarily involve infallibility or absolute accuracy in matters of historical detail. He even believes, as indeed most English-speaking critics do, that the providential purpose of God through Israel, so far from being obscured by the critical reading of its history, is only brought out into greater prominence for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear.

He approaches the problem from several angles. He reminds us, for example,—and it is a wholesome and necessary reminder—that 'opinions may

become almost universally current in the Church without being true.' There was a time when the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross was represented as a debt paid to Satan. But nobody, we presume, accepts that view of the Atonement to-day. Similarly the identification of inspiration with verbal infallibility is not proved by the fact that many worthy and conscientious members of the Church accept it: it, too, may go the way of that now discredited theory of the Atonement, and its disappearance would be not a loss but a gain.

But again, Dr. GORE reminds us that there is no warrant even in the New Testament for identifying inspiration with infallibility. St. Luke makes no claim to inspiration, but only to exhaustive investigation and accuracy. The Evangelists differ quite freely in details, and occasionally the Fourth Gospel corrects the tradition represented by the other three. Certain statements of St. Paul imply that he does not write as one who regarded himself as infallible; and in view of all these considerations it must be regarded as a happy circumstance that the Church never attempted to *define* inspiration. Neither the Bible nor the Church binds Christian people to any theory; they are free to go wherever the facts may lead. And the Reformers,—as Professor MACKINTOSH points out in a chapter which he contributes—though they often clung to the notion of a verbally inspired Bible, yet at other times expressed themselves with a critical freedom which we are apt to think is peculiarly modern.

Further, Dr. GORE wisely insists on distinguishing between the truths which Christ definitely *taught*, and incidents in the Biblical record, like the Flood, to which He alludes. An allusion to such an event does not necessarily endorse its historicity. 'It seems to me,' he says, that our Lord 'cannot be said to *teach* anything but what is of eternal validity about God and nature and man.' Indeed, He Himself criticized the Old Testament and in the most unmistakable language insisted on its imperfections—in the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere.

All this is well said. It has been said before, but it needs to be said again. Yet we doubt whether it will carry any real conviction to the genuinely Fundamentalist type of mind. Such a mind will only be provoked to be told that 'there are mistakes in the Gospels and a great number of more or less important discrepancies of detail.' Dr. GORE uses the word 'preposterous' of positions held by those whom he is confuting. 'It seems to me to be even preposterous to suggest that He binds us by His allusion to the Flood to suppose that it occurred as described in Genesis.' We quite agree with Dr. GORE, but we are equally sure that the adversary will not be convinced. What Dr. GORE regards as 'preposterous' is the view which, to the traditionalist with his particular view of the Person of Christ, seems the only reasonable and reverent one.

Such a person will be almost equally provoked and equally unconvinced by the statement that 'the writers of the New Testament used the methods of their time and often positively give the texts meanings which they cannot bear. The ideas for which these apostolic writers and preachers are contending are true ideas, but their inspiration did not make them unerring in their interpretation of particular texts.' Every scholar knows this to be true, but would it convince a mind prejudiced by instinct and training against the view that is here asserted?

Of course we must remember that Dr. GORE is writing not for Fundamentalists, but for students who presumably are accustomed to more generous ways of approaching literature. But even so, we think that Dr. GORE might have strengthened his case by dealing more explicitly with concrete cases. The passages he alludes to in defence of the sentences last quoted are singularly appropriate to his argument, but the argument would have been decidedly more effective had they been quoted *in extenso*, and had reasons been explicitly given for the statement that New Testament writers often put on Old Testament texts a meaning which

they cannot bear. It is not enough to say that this is obvious, or that the reverse is preposterous. The whole Fundamentalist controversy shows that the matter is not so simple as that.

Similarly, a brief discussion of a few of the more glaring discrepancies in the Gospels, or between, say, the Books of Kings and the Books of Chronicles, or of the points at which the Fourth Gospel 'tacitly corrects' the earlier tradition, would have enhanced the persuasiveness of the argument. But the broad case for reverent freedom in our attitude to criticism has been well put by Dr. GORE, and it cannot fail to be helpful to those for whom it was written.

It is pleasant to learn that the Rev. F. R. BARRY has been placed in the Chair of New Testament Exegesis, King's College, London. He is one of the best of the new men who are doing so much to lead the Christian Church in the way of the light. He has already written two fine books, and one especially which shows his power of exposition applied to the New Testament. We may expect great things from this appointment. And he has begun well with his inaugural lecture, which is published in the *Church Quarterly Review* for July.

His first point is that Criticism, instead of 'destroying' the New Testament, has shown us its real and permanent religious value. Conventional methods of interpretation dulled the original, challenging freshness of it. We must see the New Testament books against their own background, and see their economic and social environment, their own problems, their intellectual forms, none of which is ours, and then we shall see these books as the most spontaneous books in all literature. We shall see what is temporary and local in them, and what is eternal and imperishable. This is the great constructive achievement of criticism.

Further, we shall never understand the New

Testament if we regard it, as past generations did, as primarily a text-book of theology. 'It has two or three theologies in the making, and I doubt if it is possible to harmonise them.' The New Testament sprang not out of libraries or studies, but out of the lives of toiling men and women, from the great industrial centres of the Empire and the fishing towns of the Lake of Galilee. It is a *volksbuch*, as Luther called it, written not in literary Greek at all, but in the spoken vernacular of the Mediterranean.

So the New Testament is a book of life, a record of the Christian experience at its highest and most creative moment. To try to eternalize the thought-forms in which this experience is expressed is to be untrue to the book's own genius. These thought-forms are not ours. We have to translate them. Take, *e.g.*, what is called 'Paulinism.' Paul tried to express a mystical experience in the metaphors of a Jewish law-court. And industrious people have taken his words and made out of these temporary and local forms a dogmatic system! 'If there is one thing that the religious chaos of the last four centuries has shown us clearly, it is that any attempt to base theologies on isolated New Testament phrases only results in fissiparous sectarianism.'

The authority of the New Testament reposes on one fact, that it mirrors the new life at its highest and its truest to itself. 'Just in so far as we are not limited by it, but allow it to live itself out into

new conditions, we can take the New Testament as a lasting authority. We can only settle problems about the rightfulness of this or that by setting them in the presence of the New Testament'spirit. Are they true to that? If so, they are genuinely Christian. If not, they are condemned.'

One of the most depressing things about the Christianity of our day is that it has drifted so far away from the New Testament. Ordination candidates to-day can give you definitions of dogma and 'the results of Biblical criticism,' but they do not know the New Testament. And yet all big renewals in the Church's life have sprung from a return to it. If there is such a return now, it will have two results—one in our life, another in our thinking.

The result in life is obvious. But it would revolutionize theology as well. Our religious thinking to-day is second-hand. Theology to-day means learning what other people have thought about God. Academic theology is bankrupt, and probably we must start almost afresh. The current religious phraseology has almost ceased to have a meaning for the mass of men and women. The continued use of it is disastrous. We want a new language to express a new life, just as the New Testament language expressed its life. 'A return to New Testament authority, a reception of the New Testament spirit, an experimental living in its way—these are the paths to revival in religion, to strength and reality in Christian thinking.'

Atbanasiana.

BY PROFESSOR ADOLF DEISSMANN, D.THEOL., D.D., THE UNIVERSITY, BERLIN.

I.

IN the spring of 1923, while I was in London after a somewhat prolonged lecturing tour in England and Wales, Mr. H. Idris Bell, the distinguished papyrologist of the British Museum, showed me a

recently acquired papyrus of the fourth century A.D. which struck me as being of very great importance for the history of the period of St. Athanasius. This was a letter written by a Meletian with reference to an attack upon certain Meletian dignitaries in Alexandria, which, if not actually brought about,

had at least been sanctioned, by the great champion of orthodoxy.

At the period in question Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, in Egypt, had been dead for some ten years. His form of heresy had to do not so much with doctrine as with the practical policy of the Church. Amid the disorders incidental to the great persecution, he had undertaken the oversight of his co-believers in the parishes and dioceses of others, performed rites of consecration, and thus formally infringed the prerogatives of the regular bishops. The vehement resistance to these doings, especially on the part of Peter, metropolitan of Alexandria, led to the founding of a separate Meletian church, which, sustained as it was by powerful moral and religious forces, maintained its existence in Egypt for several generations. Mr. Bell's discovery seemed to furnish us for the first time with an original document of this important chapter of Church history, and, among those who had heard of it, its publication was looked forward to with eager interest.

A volume containing the letter has just been given to the public by Mr. Bell,¹ and all our expectations are left far behind. Here, besides the letter referred to, written *c.* A.D. 335, we have a considerable group of Greek and Coptic MSS—letters mainly—written by Meletians *c.* A.D. 330–340, and, as if that were not enough, a further series of Christian autographs, of about the same date, from the correspondence of one Paphnutius, an Egyptian whose prayers wrought miracles, as well as a long letter addressed to the Alexandrians by the Emperor Claudius in A.D. 41. The decipherment is of the clearest and most careful kind, the exposition and appraisal are most searching, revealing an astonishing grasp of international and especially of German research in Church history, and the whole is embellished with superb facsimiles of the more important leaves. So splendid a gift to scholarship adds fresh distinction to the author's name.

II.

The historical unity of this fine collection of new London papyri lies in the fact that all the included documents bear serviceably upon the history of Roman Egypt, and especially of its

great capital, Alexandria. They might also be characterized as monuments of passion, of that national and religious fanaticism which, so to speak, made the pogrom an all but normal institution of social life. The letter of Claudius reveals a background on which, in the age of Philo and the Apostle Paul, the Jews and Gentiles of Alexandria stand face to face in mortal enmity; similarly, three hundred years later, the bad blood between the orthodox and the heretic leaves its trail in the literary relics of the Meletian conflict.

The Claudius letter of A.D. 41 will doubtless become a subject for much discussion. In my opinion it is an altogether unique source for the Cæsar cult in Egypt, and it radiates much fresh light in other respects. To take but a single point, I have always found it difficult to account for the fact that the Apostle of the Gentiles never visited Egypt. I sought an explanation in the theory that in the normative beginnings of St. Paul's work, when he was setting his course, the Jewish commotions under Caligula, as recorded in Philo and other sources, made Egypt too intractable a soil. Now, however, in the letter before us—written, let us remember, to the Jews in Alexandria equally with the other residents—we find Claudius, the successor of Caligula, issuing a warning of the gravest kind against an influx of Syrian Jews into the city. Clearly, therefore, the obstacles to a Christian mission in Egypt were of a most serious nature.

III.

The Meletian group comprises ten papyri of varying length in Greek or Coptic, nearly all of them, as said above, being letters, most of which, again, are addressed to a certain Apa Païêous, a confessor in the great persecution. It is true that in the sources for the history of the Meletian controversy published by Maffei we already had a number of letters dating from the early days of the schism, but the London papyri have the peculiar interest of being originals—'survivals,' in the language of modern historical methodology; moreover, they come from the Meletian camp, whereas most of what we already knew came from the Athanasian side. We cannot here even sketch the rich contents of these documents; suffice it to note that we find in them chronological data of great value; *e.g.* as regards the Synod of Cæsarea, which Eduard Schwartz assigned to A.D. 333, Mr.

¹ *Jews and Christians in Egypt: The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy*, London, 1924.

Bell has been enabled to fix its date as the 19th of March 334. The authority for this is Papyrus No. 1913, which, characteristically enough, states that the object of the Synod was to decide regarding the purification of the Holy Christian Body (πρὸς διάκρισιν περ[ὶ] κ[α]θαρισμοῦ < τοῦ > ἁγίου Χρηστιανικοῦ [π]λήθους).

The gem of this collection is Papyrus No. 1914, a long letter written in May or June, 335 (probably), by a monk or priest named Callistus. To read this moving document with a little historical imagination is to find oneself set down amidst the tangible realities of early Christian life—more directly, in fact, than one could be by the most brilliant historical painting of the great masters. Unfortunately the realities are not all of a pleasing kind, though for the most part the Meletians, with their heroic joy in martyrdom, appeal strongly to our sympathies. The Meletian bishop of Letopolis, Isaac, visits Pope (πάπας) Heraiscus, leader of the Meletians in Alexandria, and takes a meal with him in the 'camp.' The adherents of Athanasius, incensed at the presence of the heretical bishop in the city, force their way, along with drunken soldiers, into the camp with the intention of seizing their adversaries. Bishop Isaac and Pope Heraiscus, however, are rescued by 'God-fearing' troops of their own camp. Then the fury of the undisciplined squad gluts itself in the savage maiming of other four Meletians. The angry rabble hurries thereafter to an inn by the Gate of the Sun, where some of the heretics were lodging, threaten the landlord, lay hold upon a number of his guests, who are then thrust into gaol. Now, however, the commanding officer, the *praepositus*, finds the affair most distasteful, and sends a message to the bishop: 'To-night in a state of drink I committed sin when I ill-used the brethren.' . . . 'And because of the sin thus committed he, though a Hellene [*i.e.* heathen], took the Agape [the Holy Supper] that same day.'

In the background of all this—and we touch here the strongly dramatic element in this fragment of early Church life—stands the great shadow of Athanasius. It is he whom the letter-writer makes ultimately responsible; the writer, in fact, gives a whole list of outrages wrought by that prince of the Church against the Meletians. In the eyes of Callistus, Athanasius is anything but the man of granite, inflexible in the native strength of his personality. On the contrary, he is fidgety, nervous,

apprehensive. His own position is not secure; dismal enough are the reports of ecclesiastical affairs that come from the Emperor Constantine. The primate's baggage, all packed for a flight, has already been in the ship out there in the harbour; but the waverer has had it brought back to the city. To flee or not to flee? A shiftless and irresolute man! Assuredly not all of this will be mere misrepresentation.

IV.

The documents connected with the name of Paphnutius consist of seven letters, all of them most likely addressed to him. This Paphnutius, or Papnutius, is an old acquaintance. Many years ago, in my *Septuaginta-Papyri*,¹ I published an excerpt from the papyrus collection of Heidelberg University Library in the form of a letter written to Papnutius by a certain Justinus; the text is given also in my *Licht vom Osten*.² That letter and the London group alike come to us from the belongings of one and the same person, a Christian anchorite of the days of Athanasius. Paphnutius must have formed the centre of a widespread religious intercourse, for his prayers were reputed to be of quite extraordinary power, and great numbers of afflicted people sought eagerly for the intercessions of this 'Christ-bearer' (Χρηστοφόρος). As might be expected, these letters provide astonishingly valuable materials for the history of actual Christian piety in the period of the great dogmatic conflicts, and will be of much service in that regard. They form a class by themselves, and one not less valuable than the group already mentioned; and this holds good even if a certain conjecture of Mr. Bell—at first sight all but incredible—should in the end fail to find confirmation.

The conjecture in question—advanced by Mr. Bell, it is true, with intimations of his own misgivings—is that Papyrus No. 1929 is probably an original letter, an actual autograph, of St. Athanasius himself. A suggestion like this, set forth in cold print, almost takes away one's breath, and I venture to think that, when the theory comes to be known, it will not go unchallenged. Still, when so experienced an investigator, on the ground of the language, the contents, and the outward form of the letter,

¹ Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, i. (*Die Septuaginta-Papyri und andere altchristliche Texte*), Heidelberg, 1905, No. 6, pp. 94-104.

² 4th edition, Tübingen, 1923, p. 182 f.

and of analogous phenomena in other letters of the time and in the letters and writings of St. Athanasius himself, propounds such a startling theory, we must listen with respect. These Meletian leaves, be it remembered, come from the very *milieu* in which the great figure of St. Athanasius moved, so that the discovery of an autograph letter from his hand cannot be deemed impossible. The letter contains a request for the intercessory prayers of Paphnutius in view of the sore sickness that lies upon the house of the writer—*Athanasius*. A true letter, therefore; not a literary epistle on matters of dogmatic controversy. Now it is well known that St. Athanasius cultivated friendly relations with the monks, and it is certainly not inconceivable that the imperious director of souls should require the intercession of a 'Father' for his own needs. I reserve my own judgment as to the authorship of the letter until I have compared certain definite details which seem to me capable of being tested. Here, meanwhile, I give the letter in an English rendering. Even those who see in it no more than a document of Egyptian Christianity in the age of the famous orthodox theologian will nevertheless prize it highly as such.

'To the most dear and beloved Father Papnutius, Athanasius (sends) greeting in the Lord God.

'May Almighty God and His Christ grant that

your Piety (*θεοσέβεια*) may long abide among us and remember us in your prayers.' For as long as your Holiness (*ἀγιότης*) continues in this, it will be for our welfare in all things. To-day, then, I ask you for specially fervent remembrance. For the prayers offered by you are heard because of your holy love. And as you will ever entreat in holy prayers, [it will avail] on our behalf. I do but acknowledge what is right in believing that in all ways you have us in remembrance. For I assuredly know that you love us. I am in very great concern regarding Didyma and mother. For Didyma . . . , and my mother is sick. I have therefore much to contend with, especially as I am ill myself, and sorely enfeebled. But I believe in Him who is the Saviour of us all. In the midst of these distresses we are glad that by your solicitude it was possible for you to send Horion, the good son, to us.

'Theodosius, . . . , Antiochus, Didyma, mother, all who belong to our household, tender you many obeisances and many greetings, most dear and beloved Father. May Divine Providence long, long preserve you, and keep you ever in remembrance of us, beloved and most dear !'

Address on the verso :

'To the most dear and beloved Father Papnutius, Athanasius in the Lord God.'

Literature.

THE CHRIST OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Christ of the New Testament, by Mr. Paul Elmer More (Milford; 13s. 6d. net), is the third volume in the series 'The Greek Tradition from the Death of Socrates to the Council of Chalcedon.' This book does not take one over a beaten track. This would be sufficiently evident from the statements on p. 119, that 'the Kantian metaphysics spells death to philosophy, and that the Lutheran theology spells death to religion,' and that the German conceit of what Kant accomplished is one of the great barriers in the way of philosophical and spiritual truth.

The writer makes clear his position—that he is

trying to do two things which are commonly regarded as incompatible. On the one hand, he fully accepts the results of the modern critical study of the Christian documents. On the other hand, he wishes to maintain the Christology of the creeds, or something like it, and to insist on the element of mystery, the supernatural if you will, in life, and especially in the revelation given in Jesus. The psychological materialists and the Berkeleyans cannot both be right, and it may well be that they are both wrong. Mr. More thinks that Dr. Johnson's contemptuous kicking of the stone was a sufficient answer to Berkeley; and, on the other hand, the results of the modern psychologists who are trying to define mind in terms of body are

'excruciatingly funny.' We have to recognize the mysterious duality of mind and ideas, just as we recognize the equally mysterious duality of good and evil. In these two mysterious dualisms lies the beginning of religion.

The whole trend of criticism during the last century has proceeded on the assumption that the union of two natures in one person is an incredible paradox. Mr. More, on the other hand, sets out to show that the Incarnation, Christ as a person who embraced within Himself the full nature of divinity and the full nature of humanity, is the one essential doctrine of Christianity, and that the philosophy underlying it conforms to our deepest spiritual experience.

The present volume, however, is only preliminary to the study of the main thesis, which is to come in a later volume. It contains a critical account of the New Testament material on which as a basis any Christology must be laid. The work is everywhere fresh and stimulating and written with knowledge which is not paraded. The author has a very interesting suggestion that 'We of the English speech are fortunate in that, owing to the character of our tongue and to the fact that the makers of the Authorized Version were steeped in Hebrew, our Bible probably brings us closer to the gravity of Christ's teaching than the Greek.' Enthusiasts for Paul will find it hard to get on to common terms with an author who realizes the greatness of Paul, and yet finds many parts of his Epistles 'painful reading' on account of the vein of self-assertion that runs through them. He also considers Paul's concentration of faith upon the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus an unfortunate element which has left a trail of morbid sentiment all through the centuries of Christianity.

THE PSALMS.

Another book on the Psalter! The Master of Queen's College in the University of Melbourne, who is also President-General of the Methodist Church of Australasia—Mr. Edward H. Sugden, M.A., B.Sc., Litt.D.—has given us a fresh and competent translation into English verse of *The Psalms of David* (Melbourne University Press; 7s. 6d.). Dr. Sugden is well aware of the almost insuperable difficulties—the 'stiffness' on the one hand, and the excessive 'freedom' on the other—which beset every attempt to translate a foreign

original into rhymed verse. But he has surmounted the difficulties astonishingly well: he has even succeeded very fairly in reproducing the acrostic quality of Ps 119. As an illustration of the poetry take the close of Ps 65:

Thou crown'st the year with goodness,
Thy paths with fatness drip;
The wilderness rejoices,
The hills with gladness skip;
The fields with flocks are covered,
The valleys smile with corn:
And joyful shouts and anthems awake each happy
morn.

The rhyme, it will be seen, is very natural and unrestrained; cf. Ps 128³:

May thy wife within thy dwelling flourish like a
fruitful vine!
May thy sons, like olive-branches, round about
thy table twine!

Dr. Sugden happily varies the metre to reproduce, so far as may be, the metre of the original.

The solemn cadences of Ps 90 are well caught, so well indeed that Dr. Sugden's translation might very well be sung as a hymn. Sometimes the metre seems a trifle jaunty, as in his version of Pss 121, 124, or 139, and sometimes he uses phrases which are not quite in the ancient Hebrew spirit: e.g. Ps 8⁸, 'Birds, and fish that swim the sea, Thread its paths of mystery'; or Ps 18⁹, 'Heaven's blue vault was riven asunder.' Exigencies of metre readily account for such expansions; but, difficult as they are to avoid, in point of fact there are surprisingly few of them.

In his view of the structure of the Psalms, Dr. Sugden leans pretty heavily on Dr. Briggs's great Commentary. Each psalm is prefaced by very brief but thoroughly useful introductions which, curiously enough, lean distinctly to the conservative side. Dr. Sugden sees no reason to doubt the tradition which connects not only such Psalms as 3, 4, and 18, but even 51, with David. To say roundly that Ps 46 'dates from the days of Hezekiah or perhaps Josiah' is surely to put the matter too dogmatically. The real value of the book lies in its clear exhibition of the metrical structure and the poetical quality of the individual Psalms, and in this direction its value is decidedly high.

THE ETHIC OF JESUS.

A new book from the pen of Professor Ernest F. Scott, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, is something of an event. He is a strong, independent thinker, and there is always an element of unexpectedness in his thinking which makes it interesting to follow. His little book 'The New Testament To-day' was in its way unique. And he has followed it with a volume, small in size but excellent in content, on *The Ethical Teaching of Jesus* (Macmillan; 6s. net). It would be difficult to overpraise this book. There is not a dull page in it. It surveys the whole field of Jesus' moral teaching, and on every point Professor Scott has something to say that is fresh and illuminating. He emphasizes two facts especially: that Jesus taught principles, not a code, and that His ethic is rooted in religion. And the implications of these decisive facts are indicated in various directions. Dr. Scott affirms the originality of Jesus, and in an admirable chapter vindicates the historical trustworthiness of the gospel records as a whole. There are, indeed, a good many points on which the reader will feel some doubt. Dr. Scott, *e.g.*, overestimates the influence of the apocalyptic element in the teaching of Jesus. The call for renunciation, he says, has mainly to be explained from the apocalyptic hope. The obvious answer to that is that Jesus' demand for whole-heartedness is more than sufficient to explain the call for renunciation. Another instance is the statement that the contrast in Mt 5 between 'them of old time' and the new commandments was perhaps due to the Evangelist himself, a superfluous theory when we reflect that Jesus was bound to relate Himself and His teaching to the Law. But these and other instances of challenging opinions are just the proof of an independence that makes Dr. Scott so attractive a writer. His chapter on 'non-resistance' could not be bettered, and the concluding argument for the permanent validity of Jesus' teaching is as good as anything in a book which is full of good things.

DR. KELMAN'S NEW BOOK.

Dr. Kelman's latest book is his best. So far, his literary output has been somewhat disappointing. Even those (and they are many) who have been fascinated by the preacher have been

unable to read the writer. Dr. Kelman's power lies in his personality, and he is not always able to convey to the printed page the charm and life one feels so powerfully radiating from the man. But he has succeeded in doing this in *Prophets of Yesterday and their Message for To-Day* (Hodder & Stoughton; 7s. 6d. net). The prophets are Carlyle, Matthew Arnold, and Browning. Dr. Kelman divides mankind into two classes—Hebraists and Hellenists. Those on the one side are the people of conscience, those on the other the people of desire. Righteousness, duty, the will of God—these are the watchwords of Hebraism. Truth, beauty, joy—these are the watchwords of the Hellenist. Carlyle is the typical prophet of the former, Arnold of the latter, while in Browning we find a real synthesis of the two. That is the thesis of this interesting volume.

The substance of the book consists of lectures delivered in Harvard University, and this explains their character and much in their contents. Dr. Kelman is addressing youth and gives a good deal of elementary counsel (quite excellent) as to the order in which his hearers should read the books of the three authors. There is a certain amount of biography and of personal criticism in the lectures, and this adds to their interest. It is no reflection on the quality of the book to say that it contains nothing very profound. It reaches its aim, to afford an intelligent introduction to some of the greatest teachers of our time. And it does this in a way that carries the reader on in a flood of interest and information that make the book in every way desirable and helpful. It is a good book, clever and vital, and with a great deal in it of what has made Dr. Kelman a power among young men and women.

SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY.

The Story of Social Christianity has been told by Mr. Francis Herbert Stead, M.A., in two fascinating volumes, purchasable separately (James Clarke; 6s. net each). No one is better qualified to tell that story than Mr. Stead. As a writer and speaker on social questions he enjoys an international reputation; as Warden of Browning Hall for twenty-seven years he came into the most intimate contact with the social problem in some of its most difficult phases; and these volumes embody much patient and eager research.

The first volume carries the story down to the discovery of America, the second from that date to the present day. Through the centuries, as the story unfolds, we can watch the steady progress, hampered not seldom by selfishness and individualism, towards social amelioration till, 'with the establishment of the League of Nations, the world enters on an entirely new era. The political unity of the world, in however elastic a form and with admittedly great and grievous gaps, has begun,' and in the Permanent Court of International Justice 'Isaiah's dream of a world-court open to all nations is finding fulfilment.' Brilliant names and famous movements pass before us on these eloquent pages, and interest is focused upon their social significance. In the long story many men as disparate as Savonarola and Plimsoll find their place: everywhere the tale is lit up with biographical as well as historical interest. Feudalism and the Crusades, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, the Abolition of Slavery, Prison Reform, Education, Temperance, Housing—these and a score of other movements find in Mr. Stead an illuminating exponent on the side of their social significance; and he makes us feel how heavily the movement for social amelioration is indebted to every branch of the Christian Church—Evangelicals, the Society of Jesus, etc.; and, above all, there is 'the ever-recurring initiative of the Quakers.'

The dominant idea of these volumes is that this great progressive movement is directly due to the personal initiative and ceaseless direction of Jesus. 'Of all progressive history Jesus is the Maker,' so that the history of social progress is felt to be in its essence a religious history. The volumes make us feel anew how overwhelming is the debt of the world to Christianity, and upon the bewildered spirits of to-day they should act as a tonic. The self-annihilation of the race, Mr. Stead admits, is not wholly inconceivable; but 'if its wisdom is in any degree commensurate with its opportunity, the human race has before it a period of greater happiness than this earth has known.'

BUILDERS OF MODERN INDIA.

The Student Christian Movement is issuing a handy series of useful biographies at 3s., called 'Builders of Modern India.' Naturally among the first to be treated is *Gandhi*, whose remarkable life

has been well handled by Mr. R. M. Gray, M.A., and Mr. Manilal C. Parekh, B.A. The book is called an Essay in Appreciation, and so it is. Never fulsome, sometimes even critical, it is frankly pro-Gandhi on several test questions about which opinion is divided. Yet the main outcome of the study is a disappointing feeling that the man is much less big than one had fancied him. Of his lofty idealism, of his intrepidity and courage, of the splendour of his dream for his own people, of the astonishing power of his personality upon his countrymen, there never has been any doubt. But when the full facts are set down even by eminently friendly minds, what strikes one with a sharp regret is a certain childishness that mingles with these great qualities; an odd passion, clean out of keeping with the man's usual character, that can fling into inflammable minds at times of crisis wild, whirling words that have no obvious connexion with visible facts, careless of consequences, which sometimes have been grave enough; a queer opportunist shrewdness which is strangely disappointing; a dour and obstinate element that can see no side of things except his own, which makes him at times really impossible. Judged by what he has accomplished, he stands forth one of the greatest figures in the world to-day; yet he himself seems a clear proof that, if there is not to be a crash in that part of the world, the Indians will need cooler minds than their own to help them for a long while yet.

Very beautiful is the life story of *Narayan Vaman Tilak* in the skilled hands of Mr. J. C. Winslow, M.A. Here is another patriot, whose whole heart was on fire with passionate affection for his country. Never, he says, have I loved mother or children or even myself as I love India. And he gave himself to its service with an untiring eagerness; but along what different lines from his great contemporary. For Gandhi, really a religious eclectic, remains a Hindu: while Tilak saw in Jesus Christ what India supremely needs, loved Him with his whole being, and has become a door through which his Master has reached, and will find His way to, multitudes of his countrymen. For Tilak is one of the really great modern poets of India, and much of his work is religious and devotional and Christian. His life of Christ in verse remains indeed a fragment: but there and in his other works he has supplied a crying want. For to the Indian the hymn is a far more central thing in worship than among us Westerners; and, as everybody knows, the

hymns of several Indian religions rise to amazing heights of spirituality, whereas the Indian Christians were but ill provided for. And Tilak's intimate and moving lyrics, all that wealth of affection that he lays at Jesus' feet, are certain to win many minds. Like Gandhi, he felt strongly that the time of tutelage has lasted long enough, that Indians must learn to stand on their own feet, especially that the Indian Church must be Indianized, that its members must no longer be tricked out awkwardly in Western trappings and thinking and doctrines, but that the faith must come to them in Eastern colouring: that India must be won for Christ by Indians. Most missionaries will agree with him. This is a record of an interesting personality, a wonderful life, a devout soul.

ANOTHER BIBLE FOR THE YOUNG.

Recently the Cambridge University Press issued two editions of the Bible, selected and arranged by eminent men, and beautifully printed and bound. The selections followed the Cambridge-shire Syllabus of Religious Instruction. They were admirable in every way. And now we have another, just as admirable and with a special feature of its own that will be certain to secure a public for it. The title is *The Bible for Youth*, and the publishers are Messrs. T. C. & E. C. Jack (6s. net). There are here the same clear type, the same beauty of form, and the printing of the text in paragraphs, without verses. The special feature is the provision of short introductions to each section. To take some examples: there is an introduction to the Creation narrative, with the narrative following; the story of the Fall, the Flood, the Call of Abram are all preceded by a couple of pages of explanation. And so on throughout the whole book. These introductions (with short notes) are supplied by Dr. R. C. Gillie and the Rev. James Reid of Eastbourne. They are done with judgment and knowledge. The modern standpoint is adopted but not obtruded. And, while nothing drastic is attempted, there is one great merit in the explanations given. They teach nothing that will have to be unlearned later. This edition of the Bible is meant for young people of from fourteen to eighteen years of age. It is, of course, a series of selections, and the selections are made on the lines of the Syllabus of Religious Instruction compiled by a joint-committee repre-

senting the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church of Scotland, and the Educational Institute of Scotland. The book is one to be unreservedly commended. That youth is indeed fortunate who has put into his hands this instructive and educative course of Bible reading.

The Historical Jesus, by Charles Piepenbring, Ph.D., translated from the French by Lilian A. Clare (Allen & Unwin; 7s. 6d. net), is the enlargement of a previous brochure by the same author and bearing the same title. Founding upon the positions held by Loisy upon this subject, it aims at modifying some of Loisy's conclusions, especially in the way of bringing out the individuality and originality of Jesus. The author achieves this aim, as he well might, without difficulty.

If Loisy's criticism of the New Testament is sound, the edifice raised upon that criticism stands foursquare to all the winds. But is the foundation sound? That is really the only question. With Dr. Piepenbring, however, there is no question about it. He is as confident of the accuracy of Loisy's reconstruction of the New Testament as any one ever was of the law of gravitation. When he tells us what parts of Mark's Gospel are unhistorical and unreliable—and these are the parts which are due to the Pauline influence—he assumes that subjectivity, the desire to support a theory, has played no part in the determination to expunge these passages. It is by a kind of law of nature that they must go. The Synoptic Gospels must be stripped of everything which suggests that Jesus had any thought of dying for sinners or that His body did anything else than continue in the tomb. A fair specimen of Dr. Piepenbring's method of analysis is given on p. 211, where he says: 'The Pauline influence is seen, too, in what Mark relates of the obtuseness of the early disciples, especially of Peter, James, and John.' He goes on to agree with Loisy that there is even more of the Pauline influence in Luke. Then how does it come about that 'Luke spares the Twelve'? That detail is evidently not worth referring to.

The strongest impression that the ordinary reader is likely to get from this book is that if the author's contention is true that Paul's influence, which admittedly was in line with the thoughts of the earliest apostles, has radically

distorted the Evangelists' portraits of Jesus, then the effort of any one in the twentieth century to re-create that portrait is as vain as effort can be.

Quite recently we reviewed a book by Mr. Basil King on 'The Conquest of Fear.' Now comes a second volume, *The Discovery of God* (Allen & Unwin; 7s. 6d. net). The idea is a good one. Mr. King has proceeded on the fact that the Bible is the record of a progressive revelation. He takes each stage and expounds the gain it has secured for mankind. 'Abraham discovers the elemental God,' 'Moses discovers the only God,' 'Isaiah discovers the God of all men,' and so on up to 'Jesus discovers the Universal Father'—this is the kind of line. His stages are not quite correct, for Moses did not discover the only God, nor did Isaiah discover the God of all men. There are other (and not a few) statements in the book that are open to correction. But they do not interfere with the value of the book as a whole. It is a fresh, independent, and illuminating study of the growth of the knowledge of God throughout the Bible. It is full of ability as well as earnestness, and it will prove both helpful and interesting as an introduction to the reading of the Bible.

One does not like to write harshly about any book into which the author has put either work or earnestness. And Mr. Hermon F. Bell has put both into his *An Introduction to Theology* (published by the author, 22 East 17th Street, New York; \$2.00, post paid). We give the address in case any one wishes to write for it. But we cannot honestly say that he will be very much enlightened or enriched by it if he does. The book consists of a series of verbose chapters on very interesting subjects, such as 'The Theological Approach,' 'The Philosophical Basis for Theology,' 'Some Present-day Tendencies in Theology,' and others. The author has read widely and thought much if not deeply, and he has arrived at a theology of his own which will be found to be too thin and bloodless for us on this side.

To the Christian scholar every fresh addition to our knowledge of the ancient Jewish mind is welcome, and he will be grateful for the discussion by Rabbi Asher Feldman, B.A., of *The Parables and Similes of the Rabbis, Agricultural and Pastoral* (Cambridge University Press; 7s. 6d. net). The

writer treats exhaustively of similes and parables drawn by the Rabbis from the experience of the farmer, the shepherd, and, more particularly, the cultivator of trees, such as the fig, the olive, the palm, etc. While claiming that the Rabbis are the spiritual descendants of the Prophets and Poets of the Old Testament, he admits that they are for the most part inferior to their great prototypes in sublimity, imagination, and creative energy, and that their interpretations are occasionally strained and prosaic. There are, however, not a few flashes of genuine poetry in them, and indirectly they throw light on the economic conditions and religious ideas of the times in which they were composed. The whole discussion is interesting for its own sake, and not less for the comparison which it enables us to institute with the parables of the New Testament.

Thoughts from St. Francis of Assisi, prepared by John Telford, B.A. (Epworth Press), may be had in paper wrapper at 6d. net, art levant boards at 1s. net, and limp lambskin at 2s. 6d. net. The first part of the little book contains an account of St. Francis, and the second gives a number of his sayings in their setting.

Professor A. T. Robertson of Louisville, Kentucky, is one of the most prolific authors of our time. It almost seems as if a new book of his arrives every few weeks. In point of fact, he has just published his twenty-sixth volume. And the amazing thing is that they are so good. His 'Grammar of New Testament Greek' is good enough and big enough to be the work of a lifetime. He has done much for New Testament scholarship. And now he has conferred a very real benefit on students by issuing a new edition of his *Syllabus for New Testament Study* (Hodder & Stoughton; 7s. 6d. net). It is a guide book. There is a survey of the whole ground (including the three hundred years before Christ). The subjects are all divided up and under each head are pointers for study, with an exhaustive list of relevant books. There is a general bibliography. And, in fact, there is a complete apparatus for the study of the whole New Testament. It is a thorough piece of work, and students who lay their minds alongside it and use it honestly will find much profit in it.

The Greater Christ, by the Rev. A. D. Belden,

B.D. (Sampson Low; 3s. 6d. net), is a collection of twenty-two essays, the first ten dealing with the integration of 'New Knowledge and the Faith,' the remaining twelve being styled 'A Miscellany of Application.' The purpose of the book is to help the non-theological whose minds may be perplexed as to where the Christian faith stands in the light of the newer knowledge, and this purpose is well met. Some of the essays are exceedingly suggestive and all are well written and well illustrated. Without endorsing all Mr. Belden's positions, we can heartily wish that so reverent and able a book as this may find its way into the hands of many of those who have intellectual difficulties about Christianity.

In *The Kneeling Christian* (Marshall Brothers; 2s. 6d. net), by an anonymous author, we have an urgent remonstrance and appeal on the paramount subject of prayer. 'How few there are among us who know what prevailing prayer really is,' says the writer. 'The Church of England, recognizing the importance of worship and prayer, expects her clergy to read prayers in Church every morning and evening. But when this is done, is it not often in an empty church? . . . And what of those churches where the old-fashioned weekly prayer-meeting is retained? Would not "weakly" be the more appropriate word?' The little book justifies itself and makes its real appeal by the intensity of the writer's belief that God is the answerer of all who come to Him in prayer and that nothing is beyond the scope of prayer which is not beyond the will of God.

God's Storehouse (Marshall Brothers; 3s. 6d.) contains two texts for every day in the year. It was compiled by the late Mr. T. W. Wilson. The first text for each day is a prayer, and the second a promise of fulfilment. For December 31st we have the prayer in Ps 40¹⁷, 'Make no tarrying, O my God,' and the response from Rev 22²⁰, 'Surely I come quickly.'

'Notwithstanding their ignorance, the critics love boasting about their "scholarship." What they lack in knowledge, they make up in vanity.' A foolish sentence like this, and a disparaging reference to Peake's 'Commentary' in the same context, do not create an initial prejudice in favour of the book entitled *New Light on Genesis*, by the

Rev. Morris Morris, M.Sc. (Marshall Brothers; 3s. 6d. net). Yet there are interesting ideas in the book, which is a discussion of Gn 1-3 by a trained geologist who, as such, deserves a hearing. The book is practically an attack on evolution as an altogether inadequate and untrue explanation of the world as we know it with its different species. Variation, it is maintained, can be explained only by creation, not by evolution: natural variation could never produce new species, but only supernatural variation, *i.e.* creation. This is true Science, and this is true Bible: for Gn 2⁴⁻²⁵ is 'a summary and explanation' of 1¹⁻²⁴.

This attitude to the Old Testament is on a footing with Mr. Morris's interpretation of the 'seed' in Gn 3¹⁵ as referring to Christ, and of 'the time of the end' in Dn 12⁹ as referring to 'this time, in which we are living now.' Had Mr. Morris devoted as much attention to the scientific study of the Old Testament as he has given to geology and biology, he would hardly have reached the conclusion that 'the Scriptures, from cover to cover, have been *verbally and infallibly* inspired by "The Spirit of Truth."' But within the sphere on which he speaks with authority Mr. Morris has interesting things to say which are worthy of careful consideration.

Pathmakers to Christ has as its sub-title 'A Manual for a New Order of Pathmakers for the King of Kings and Lord of Lords.' The author is, Mr. Roderick Campbell, and the publishers are Messrs. Morgan & Scott (2s. net).

Any one who wants to start or to develop a Cradle Roll should read *A Successful Cradle Roll System*, by Mrs. Maude H. Fletcher (National Sunday School Union; 2s. net). Mrs. Fletcher holds, very wisely we think, that the Cradle Roll is the foundation-stone of the Sunday-school structure. In her husband's church at Cardiff—Wood Street Congregational Church—she developed a very large and successful Cradle Roll, and in this small book she describes the methods which she tested and found successful.

We saw it stated recently, when Mr. Fletcher left Cardiff, that not only had the church membership greatly increased, but that there was in the congregation a very definite church-consciousness, and as an indication of this, the fact that seven of the young men were preparing for the Ministry

was given. Mr. Fletcher writes a short introduction to *A Successful Cradle Roll System*, and attributes to the Cradle Roll much of the success of his work.

One of the best books of an unpretending kind we have seen on its subject is *Paths to Power in the Religious Education of the Young*, by Professor Robert Corkey, M.A., Ph.D. (National Sunday School Union; 2s. 6d. net). It is the fifth volume of the 'Every Teacher's Library,' a series that includes that excellent book, Professor M'Kenzie's 'Modern Psychology and the Achievement of Christian Personality.' Dr. Corkey's little book is full of wisdom, the kind of wisdom that flows from the pen of one who has had experience and writes therefore not from theory, but from knowledge. He has chapters on the Soul of a Child, on Illustrations, on the Child and the Church, on the Lesson (a very good chapter for teachers), on Impressing the Heart, and much else. It is all good and the book may be confidently commended to teachers, with far more assurance than most of the books on the same subject can elicit.

It was a happy thought on the part of the Editors of 'The Old Testament in Colloquial Speech' to combine the exquisite little books of *Ruth and Jonah*, dealing as they both do with the problem, never more urgent than at the present day, of the proper attitude to the foreigner; and the Editors were fortunate in securing for this little volume, published by the National Adult School Union at the small sum of 9d., the services of Mrs. Constance Mary Coltman, M.A., B.D., who has also dealt with 'Obadiah' in the same series. The translation, which is highly idiomatic, reads very naturally, and Mrs. Coltman has done well to translate the prayer in *Jonah 2* into verse, which happily reproduces the spirit of the original. The brief introductions to both books are admirably done, and deftly touch the points of interest and importance raised.

Here is another addition to that fine series 'The Religious Quest of India,' and well worthy of it—*The Religion of the Rigveda*, by Dr. Griswold (Oxford University Press; 12s.). There are those who are bored by the *Rigveda*; and others who

are moved and awed as they sit at the feet of these old poets (the date here preferred is 1500 to 500 B.C.) and watch them teasing at the problems of life, feeling their way to their solutions—here proving startlingly how little human nature has changed with the centuries, there pressing through a jungle of things long ago outworn to some striking and eternal truth. In any case it is the simplest fact that 'it is no more possible to understand later Hinduism without a knowledge of the *Rigveda* than it would be to understand the New Testament or the Quran without a knowledge of the Old Testament.' For practical purposes there is no guide that will lead you quicker to the heart of things than this fine study. What strikes one constantly is the splendid might-have-been. Had Varuṇa, the ethical sin-forgiving god, held the place he all but won, India would have been monotheistic centuries ago. But that, which nearly happened—so one feels—was not to be. There is a final chapter in which it is argued with much point that if Hinduism is undoubtedly the obvious successor to much in the *Rigveda*, there are other portions of which the only legitimate heir is Christianity.

Messrs. Partridge & Co. have just issued another volume of their 'Great Deed Series.' The title is *The Race of Heroes*. They have also added to their 'Popular Biographies' a life of *Wilfred Grenfell*. Both books are to be thoroughly recommended to every boy and girl. They are full of the 'Great Adventure' and other adventures. The author of both books is Mr. Basil Mathews, M.A. The publishers are to be congratulated on publishing such attractive volumes at the low price of 3s. 6d. each.

Messrs. Pickering & Inglis have published a book for religious workers on *What to Teach and How to Reach the Young*, by Mr. George Goodman (3s. net). It is described as 'a spiritual handbook for all workers amongst young people.' It is really a series of evangelical addresses of all kinds, parables, stories, illustrations, and skeletons of sermons, with a great deal of sound advice as to matter and manner by one who has had much experience in seaside children's services. It is all good of its kind.

Romance and Tragedy in the History of the New Testament Text.

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THERE are few subjects with as little popular appeal as the textual criticism of the New Testament. One thinks of musty monasteries, or of the scholarly recluse remote from the life of men with all its struggles and aspirations. But, just as progress in knowledge of the wonders of the stars is linked to exact mathematical calculations and measurements, so the preservation of the N.T. text from the first century till now is marked by heroism and tragedy that challenge our interest and our gratitude. If the Bible is worth half to the world what its sharpest critics admit, it is certainly due a certain amount of consideration for the marvellous way in which it has come down to us.

The human interest starts with the beginning. One can feel Paul's indignation over the effort of some pious cranks in Thessalonica to palm off spurious epistles with his name as author, in order to bolster up their false interpretation of his preaching in Thessalonica (2 Th 2¹⁻³). He was compelled to call attention to his own signature at the close of each Epistle as the proof of its genuineness, just as bankers to-day watch the handwriting of the signature to a cheque (3¹⁷). Criticism of the Pauline Epistles began with the beginning, and it has continued until now. In Corinth, Paul's adversaries admitted the power of his letters without trying to forge his name to any, but they ridiculed his personal prowess (2 Co 10⁸⁻¹¹). Paul usually dictated his Epistles, and it is interesting to see Tertius, the amanuensis for the Epistle to the Romans, slyly slipping in his own greeting (Ro 16²²). There is a pathetic interest in the 'large letters' used by Paul in writing with his own hand in large uncials (like a child's print) the passionate close of the Epistle to the Galatians (6¹¹), if that fact is due to his poor eyes (4¹⁵). But if he had an acute eye-trouble, so common in the glaring sun in the East, that trial or 'temptation' (4¹⁴) may have been temporary. Certainly Paul had his books, both papyrus and parchment, and used them, and missed them when without them (2 Ti 4¹³).

It was not easy to preserve books in the first

century A.D. Most of them were written on the brittle papyrus of which we now have so many fragments from Egypt. There they have been preserved in the dry sands of the rubbish-heaps or wrapped around mummies in the tombs. But the N.T. autographs probably perished quickly, though fortunately not before copies were made of them. Paul meant his Epistles to be read in public (1 Th 5²⁷), and they were sometimes passed from church to church, as was true of those to Colossæ and Laodicea (our Ephesians), as he expressly directed should be done (Col 4¹⁶). Probably each church had a copy made before the Epistle was passed on to another church.

The more important, or more lengthy books were written on parchment, as was probably the case with St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts. At first, books were made on sheets of papyrus or parchment fastened together into a roll. But in the fourth century the codex had supplanted the roll, and parchment had taken the place of papyrus.

The early copies of various books of the N.T. were made separately, one book by itself. By degrees the Gospels were bound together, the Pauline Epistles together, and so on. It was only after the parchment codex came into use, with its leaves like our modern books, that all the N.T. books could be bound into one volume, and finally the entire Greek Bible as in the Codex Sinaiticus (S) and the Codex Vaticanus (B). But it was not merely from carelessness in copying and indifference in the use of books, like losing the outside leaf, as is possible in St. Mark's Gospel, that the N.T. had to suffer. It is amazing how some people to-day misuse books. One of the worst incidents in the repeated persecutions that the early Christians had to undergo was the wholesale destruction of the N.T. books by Imperial command, and by the rage of the pagans. It was like the case of Antiochus Epiphanes in Jerusalem, when he tore down the altar of Jehovah and set up an altar to Jupiter (Zeus), with destruction of all copies of the sacred books of the Jews. Dr. Hort puts the situation with his usual sobriety of state-

ment when he says: 'Destruction of books, which had played so considerable a part in textual history at the threshold of the Constantinian Age, was repeated again and again on a larger scale, with the important difference that now no reaction followed. The ravages of the barbarians and Muhammadans annihilated the MSS of vast regions, and narrowly limited the area within which transcription was carried on. Thus an immense number of the MSS representing texts farthest removed in locality from Antiochian (or Constantinopolitan) influence perished entirely, leaving no successors to contribute readings to other living texts or to transmit their own texts to the present day' (Introduction, pp. 142 f., vol. ii. of *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, 1882). Thus one must let his imagination fill out this picture. One would go to the stake with a precious copy of Paul's Epistles or of the Gospel of St. John. A whole family, house and all, would be burned up by the ruthless Goths and Vandals. The wonder is that anything remained. Constantine about A.D. 331 ordered fifty MS. copies of the Greek Bible prepared for the churches of Constantinople by Eusebius of Cæsarea. Caspar René Gregory thought that B and \aleph were two of these fifty. That is quite possible, though there is no evidence that either of these MSS was ever in Constantinople. But it is certain that the hatred against Christianity and Christians included the books of the N.T. For a while it did look as if these priceless books might perish from the face of the earth. What the result would have been to the world one can contemplate only with horror.

We may be grateful for the early translations of the Greek N.T., for they helped to circulate the book in the language of the people and to preserve it for us to-day. It would make a fascinating story in itself to tell how the Diatessaron of Tatian has been rediscovered from two Arabic MSS of the eleventh century. This Diatessaron or Harmony of the Four Gospels in connected narrative was long lost, but it is now accessible in several good English translations. It is not known whether it was made first in Greek or in Syriac, but it played a large part in the history of the N.T. in Syriac. Von Soden holds that this Diatessaron of Tatian, dating from the second half of the second century, was the main disturbing factor in the text of the N.T., as Origen's Hexapla was in the text of the O.T. Dr. J. Rendel Harris thinks that Tatian's Encratism appears in his reading that John the Baptist ate 'milk and honey.' The

recovery of two MSS of the Old Syriac has thrown new light on the Syriac versions and made it plain that the Peshitta version was not early, but late. It was Dr. W. Cureton, of the British Museum, who in 1848 edited the Syriac version of the Gospels now known as Curetonian Syriac. In 1892 Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, the distinguished twin-sisters of Cambridge, found another Syriac Gospel MS. in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. It is a palimpsest and is another Old Syriac document of great value. These discoveries whet one's appetite for more research.

New MSS of the Egyptian versions are throwing fresh light on the various Coptic versions, of which three are known (the Sahidic, the Bashmuri, the Bohairic). Only this year Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie has told of the discovery of a Coptic MS. of the Gospel of St. John older than any now known, and of a different dialect also. The oldest Latin translation was made in North Africa, where Greek was little understood, and, later, one was made in Europe. It was in A.D. 405 that Jerome finished his thorough revision of the previous translations. Jerome made the translation at the request of Pope Damasus, but all the same he knew and wrote in advance that the people would not like it. He had some better Greek MSS than lay behind the Old Latin versions, but he lost his temper at the abuse heaped upon him by those who preferred the Old Latin to which they had become accustomed. He termed them *bipedes asellos*, and probably some of them were. 'Dean Burgon's opposition to the English revision of 1881 seemed to us serious, but it was mere child's play beside the antagonism shown in the fourth century' (Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, p. 411). It was literally centuries before Jerome's work came into general use, not before the ninth century, and the Anglo-Saxons copied the Old Latin instead of the Vulgate. The name 'Vulgate' does not seem to have been attached to the work of Jerome till the Council of Trent, April 8, 1546, and then only as an adjective in the sense of 'current' or 'common.' It was not till 1590 that Pope Sixtus v. called his edition the Vulgate of the Council of Trent: 'By the fulness of apostolical power, we decree and declare that this edition of the sacred Latin Vulgate of the Old and New Testaments, which has been received as authentic by the Council of Trent . . . be received and held as true, legitimate, authentic, and unquestioned, in all public and private disputation,

reading, preaching, and explanation.' But the Pope died August 27, 1590, and, in spite of his anathemas, a new edition had to be issued in order to correct the multitude of errors found in the book. Gregory makes merry over the fate of Bellarmín, who was refused canonization because he suggested the 'pious fraud' of recalling the volume, making the corrections, and re-issuing it as if the deceased Sixtus had ordered it. They condemned Bellarmín, but did the very thing that he had suggested. The new edition appeared in 1592, and is called the Clementine Vulgate. And scholars are still at work on the 'immaculate' text of the Latin Vulgate. Professor G. Henslow in 1909 published a volume entitled *The Vulgate the Source of False Doctrines* in which he undertakes 'to show that it is in the Latin Vulgate that we shall discover the original source of most of the still remaining errors' (pp. 1 and 2). In particular (p. 4) he laments that sacerdotal terms are brought over into the N.T. from the O.T.

There were publishers of books and great libraries before the days of Jerome. Pamphilus gathered a great ecclesiastical library in Cæsarea and was able to take an order from the Emperor Constantine for fifty fine Greek Bibles. Eusebius of Cæsarea carried on the work of Pamphilus. But in Alexandria there existed the greatest centre of theological interest. Here Clement, a convert from Stoicism, succeeded Pantænus as head of the Catechetical School. He had a wide and rich literary culture, and quoted in his *Miscellanies* freely from Greek and Latin authors, Jewish and Christian. Mr. P. M. Barnard in *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria* (1899) has shown that Clement used the type of text very much like that of Westcott and Hort.

Clement of Alexandria was succeeded by a much greater scholar and critic, Origen. 'In textual scholarship, indeed, Origen has no rival among ancient writers, and no single individual has exercised so wide an influence upon the Biblical text as he' (Kenyon, *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 213 f.). He was only eighteen when he undertook this great task. He was driven out of Alexandria in 215, went to Cæsarea, and then returned to Alexandria in 219; and again in 231 he had trouble with his ecclesiastic overlords and made his home in Cæsarea till his death in 253. Thus Cæsarea had Origen, Pamphilus, Eusebius. Origen tells us why he preferred 'Bethabara' to 'Bethany' in Jn 1²⁸. He admitted that practically

all the documents read 'Bethany,' but he could not find a Bethany beyond Jordan in his travels in Palestine, hence he preferred 'Bethabara.' That is subjective criticism with a vengeance. It is clear that such whimsical criticism existed very early. All the more do we wonder that we can restore a competently correct text of the N.T.

We pass by many centuries, silent and dark to us, but full of turmoil and labour for the patient monks who copied Greek and Latin MSS in the East and the West. Parchment (vellum), as we have seen, took the place of papyrus, and the codex supplanted the roll. Many of the vellum books are highly ornamented, and some are written in silver or gold on purple parchment. The minuscule or cursive hand displaced the beautiful but tedious uncial style. Finally, paper came into use, and printing. The first book to be printed was the Latin Vulgate at Mayence in 1455 (the Mazarin Bible). This was a significant fact, for Latin was now supreme in the West, and Greek was largely confined to the East. But the Renaissance came to the West with its revival of interest in Greek learning. The barbarians had nearly destroyed Greek culture and letters. The Arabs had kept the torch alive in the Far East. Now the West woke up with the Greek N.T. in its hands.

The hero of this epoch is Erasmus, the foremost classicist of his time. He did not indeed print the first Greek N.T. That honour belongs to Cardinal Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo and Prime Minister of Spain. This great Inquisitor was at work on a Polyglot Bible, called the Complutensian Polyglot, which was published in 1522 by the aid of Stunica, for Ximenes died in 1517. The N.T. text was printed in 1514, four hundred years ago, though not published till 1522. But Frobenius, of Basle, had offered to pay Erasmus as much as anybody if he would get out a Greek N.T. before Ximenes published his polyglot. So Erasmus began to print his first edition of the Greek N.T., September 11, 1515, and finished it March 1, 1516. He won the race by six years, but at great cost to accuracy, and with lamentable results upon the history of the Greek N.T. He had five late minuscules at Basle. The best one (1) belonged to the eleventh century, and was so different from the others that Erasmus used it very little. Its text is very much like that of B and 8 unknown to Erasmus. He had 2 (fifteenth century) for the Gospels, 2^{3p} (thirteenth or fourteenth century) for Acts and

Epistles, and 1 (twelfth century) for the Apocalypse. The last one had a leaf missing at the end, and Erasmus retranslated the last six verses from the Latin Vulgate. 'Some words of this re-translation from the Vulgate, which occur in no MS. whatever, still linger in our Textus Receptus to the present day' (Kenyon, *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 229). Erasmus felt proud of his work, but confessed that it 'was done headlong rather than edited.' He corrected many misprints in the edition of 1519, but in that of 1522 he actually inserted the forged passage about the Trinity in 1 Jn 5^{7,8}, made to order from Vulgate MSS, and put in a sixteenth-century minuscule now in Dublin. Erasmus did not believe at the time that it was genuine, but he had promised Stunica that, if he saw it in any Greek MS. of the N.T., he would put it in the next edition. It was already in the Vulgate as a result of Cyprian's interpretation of the real text. Certainly the doctrine of the Trinity does not hinge upon a spurious passage like this, but it took over three hundred years to get it out, once it was in. Erasmus made a translation of the Greek into Latin, side by side with his Greek, and added sharp notes that greatly angered the ecclesiastics of Europe (see 'The Romance of Erasmus's Greek Testament' in my *The Minister and his Greek New Testament*, 1923). The Greek N.T. of Erasmus sold like hot cakes, and laid the foundation of the Reformation of Luther and of Luther's German Bible and, sooth to say, of the Authorized English Version (King James). In the fourth edition of Erasmus (1527) he made some use of the Complutensian Polyglot, especially in the Apocalypse. But Erasmus remained technically a Roman Catholic, though denied honour at his funeral, and his body lies buried in the Protestant Minster at Basle.

If Erasmus had known that he was working for the ages, instead of getting ahead of Ximenes, he might have taken more pains to edit his Greek N.T. All his documents were late, and some of the poorest of the late ones. But soon Stephanus or Stephens (Estienne of Paris) issued his Greek N.T., which was mainly a reprint of the last edition of Erasmus (1527, 1535). His 'royal edition' (*editio regia*) of 1550 became the main source for the Textus Receptus of England. In this edition of 1550 Stephens inserted the verse divisions which he had made on horseback (*inter equitandum*) from Paris to Lyons. What a tragedy for the interpretation of the N.T. was that horseback ride! For centuries

thereafter the sentences were to be rudely torn asunder without rhyme or reason and to the obscuration of the meaning. Even now, with our modern paragraphs, few editions in any language dare to omit these verses, though most of them put them on the margin. They are convenient for reference, but they have on the whole done untold harm.

Beza prepared four editions (1565 to 1598) of the text of Stephens. He had the use of D and D₂, but 'the time had not yet come for the safe operation of textual criticism' (Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version*, 1889, p. 238). So Beza let his chance slip to get back to an older text, but certainly D (Codex Bezae) raises problems that trouble us still. The two last editions of Stephens, and the four of Beza, were those chiefly relied on for the Authorized English Version of 1611. It is impossible, therefore, to overestimate the importance of what Erasmus did in 1516.

But this is not all the story. The Holland publishers, Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir, republished Beza's edition of 1565 with the bald and bold claim: '*Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum: in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus.*' This edition became the Textus Receptus for the Continent, as that of Stephens did for England. Schaff (*op. cit.* p. 241) puts the outcome pointedly: 'The *textus receptus*, slavishly followed, with slight diversities, in hundreds of editions, and substantially represented in all the principal modern Protestant translations prior to the present century, thus resolves itself essentially into that of the last edition of Erasmus, formed from a few modern and inferior manuscripts and the Complutensian Polyglot, in the infancy of biblical criticism.' That is tragedy indeed, for the original Greek text, which had travelled so long and so far, to become fixed in this form! Souter (*Text and Canon of the New Testament*, p. 96) laments that 'already there seems to have arisen a fictitious worship for the letter of Erasmus's last edition.' It has taken nearly four hundred years of the hardest kind of work to break that spell, and to go back to the older and the truer text.

At first, men who wanted to get behind the Textus Receptus, like Fell and Mill, published the Elzevir or the Stephens text with variations of important MSS. Richard Bentley planned a new text on the basis of the oldest Greek and Latin MSS. He published his proposal, and it roused the hostility of

all who were used to the Textus Receptus. Bentley was a fighter, but he died in 1742, before he published his text.

Bengel was afraid to publish a text of his own. No publishers would risk the rage of the public. He made some changes in his text that had already appeared previously, but he made fine use of the margin with five classes of variants. Even this plan stirred so much hostility that he published in German and in Latin a 'Defence of the Greek Testament' (1737). Wettstein (1751-2) did not dare to change the text of the Textus Receptus, but he published a fairly full critical apparatus, which is still important for its numerous quotations from the early writers. He was also the first scholar to use capital letters for the uncial Greek MSS, and Arabic numbers for the minuscules. He was a poor critic, but a prodigious worker, and his N.T. is still indispensable as a storehouse of parallel passages from the Rabbinical writers and the classics. But he had a long and bitter controversy with two orthodox, but intolerant men, Iselin and Frey. His *Prolegomena* is full of this painful story.

Griesbach cut loose from the fetters of the Textus Receptus, and made the beginning of a really critical text. The edition of his N.T. ran from 1775 to 1807. He took hold of Bengel's system of families, and classified them as Western, Alexandrian, and Byzantine or Constantinopolitan. Hort revered Griesbach more than any of his predecessors, and many of his canons of criticism are still used. He did not arouse as much antagonism as Bengel and Bengel had done.

But Lachmann's *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (2 vols. 1842-1850) did meet with much opposition from the professional theologians. He was Professor of Classical Philology in Berlin, and even De Wette thought that he wasted his time and strength in trying to reproduce the text of the fourth century. He paid no attention to the late documents (Byzantine) and confined his attention to the Western and Alexandrian classes. 'Such is the power of habit and prejudice that every inch of ground in the march of progress is disputed, and must be fairly conquered' (Schaff, *op. cit.* p. 256).

Tregelles supplied a fairly full critical apparatus that followed in the line of Lachmann, but he was stricken with paralysis in 1870 while finishing the last chapters of Revelation. His *Prolegomena* was published four years after his death, in 1875.

The work of Tischendorf is full of romance and

tragedy. He was smitten with a stroke of apoplexy on May 5, 1873, and died December 7, 1874. He did not live to write the *Prolegomena*, which was completed by Dr. Caspar René Gregory, an American scholar who gave himself to the task in Leipzig and completed it (1894). It is impossible to exaggerate the toils and travels of Tischendorf in behalf of a better text for the Greek N.T. His discovery of the Sinaitic MS. (Σ) in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai is one of the most thrilling in all the range of research. He chanced in 1844 to notice in a waste-basket there some leaves of a codex that attracted his attention. They were ready to light the fire for the monks, as others had done. It took him fifteen years of patient diplomacy before he got hold of the rest of the precious Σ, as he named it, a wonderful Greek Bible like B. This discovery and the publication of the *Facsimile* of B revolutionized Tischendorf's text in his eighth edition. That edition still has the best critical apparatus for the modern student. Gregory spent his life in getting ready to issue a new and up-to-date edition of Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graece*, and then went to the front on behalf of Germany, though seventy years old, and fell in the firing line. That is tragedy indeed! And now we shall have to wait another generation for another young man to master this great field of research and make a new critical apparatus that will include all the new discoveries.

There is no tragedy about the work of Westcott and Hort, but only painstaking and triumphant success. They met the bitter opposition of able men like Burgon and Miller; and even Scrivener leaned to the Textus Receptus. But Hort was sure that he was on the right track, as the event has shown. Their principles still stand the test, though the new discoveries, like the Washington Codex and the Sinaitic Syriac, have given more value to the Western Text than Hort allowed. The Neutral Text still holds the field as the best that we know. Besides the critical text of Westcott and Hort, we have to-day the very similar text of Nestle and also of B. Weiss.

H. Von Soden adds another tragedy to the story by reason of his accidental death in a Berlin tube. He gave unremitting toil to a new system of notation that is very cumbersome, and not likely to displace that of Tischendorf as revised by Gregory. He also worked out a new system of families that challenges that used by Westcott and Hort, only

much more complicated, and less satisfactory. But his Greek text (1913) does not differ radically from that of Westcott and Hort. It is an independent effort to find the best text, the one closest to the original.

It remains only to say that England was slow to take up the problem of printing the Bible for the people, but, once she did take hold, she has led the world. The ashes of Wycliff, and then of Tyndale, made a powerful appeal for the Bible in English. It is a sorrowful fact that the ecclesiastics of Britain brought the blood of these martyrs on their heads. God heard the prayer of Tyndale as he was burned to death, October 6, 1536: 'Lord, open the King of England's eyes.' He did. The Authorized Version in 1611 was made at the request of King James. This wonderful translation was made from the

Textus Receptus, with some help from the Latin Vulgate. It had a poor text, but it is marvellous English, and it lies at the foundation of Anglo-Saxon civilization. The Revised Version of 1881 is made from a better text, more like that of Westcott and Hort, but it can never play the part in Anglo-Saxon life that the Authorized Version has already performed.

Surely one is bound to thank God for the heroes who have struggled and triumphed through the centuries to give modern men an adequately correct text of the N.T. as we do have it to-day. With all the copyings, translations, and printings there is no heresy of moment in any MS. or edition of the N.T. The Word of the Lord has run and been glorified through the ages, as Paul urged the Thessalonians to pray for his own preaching (2 Th 3¹).

Recent Foreign Theology.

Roman Catholicism in Germany.

THE question of the future relations of Protestantism and Catholicism in Germany presents a problem which has been vigorously discussed since the War. There is general agreement as to the growth of pro-Catholic sentiment in some Protestant circles which, before the War, were anti-Catholic. In October 1921, Pfarrer Rittelmeyer, of Nuremberg, struck a note of alarm in *Christentum und Gegenwart*—the monthly magazine of which he is an editor. Attention was called to the fact that the population of post-war Germany is more than one-third Catholic, and examples were given of Romanist propaganda which seemed to the writer to threaten the undoing of the work of the Reformation.

On the other hand, Dr. Friedrich Heiler, of Marburg, cherishes the hope of a future synthesis in an 'Evangelical Catholicism,' but the realization of his ideal is contingent on the practicability of the shaping and transforming of Catholicism by the Evangelical spirit. In January 1922 a summary was given in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES of Professor Heiler's *Das Wesen des Katholizismus*; attention may now be called to a new and greatly enlarged edition of this work, published under the title *Der Katholizismus, seine Idee und seine Erscheinung*. The response to this truly catholic-spirited Pro-

testant by Dr. Engelbert Krebs, Roman Catholic Professor of Dogmatic Theology in Freiburg, has been quite justly described by another Marburg Professor as 'anti-Christian,' for Krebs denounces Heiler as 'consciously or unconsciously a Pantheist, and therefore from the ecclesiastical point of view "a heathen" (Mt 18¹⁷). In polemics, Professor Krebs throws into the shade the ecclesiastic of whom it was said that he discharged his eirenicon as from a catapult, for the Marburg eirenicon, gracious alike in contents and expression, is distorted and then flung back as a railing accusation.

Dr. Hermelink, who is Professor of Church History in Marburg, and, therefore, one of Dr. Heiler's colleagues, has recently published a comprehensive and judicious survey of the present situation. His pamphlet¹ may be described as mediating between Rittelmeyer and Heiler, and although it refers especially to Germany, it abounds in information which is of universal interest. At the outset, evidences of Catholic advance are frankly recognized, but the pessimistic utterances of alarmists are held to be unwarranted.

In *Hochland*, a Roman Catholic journal which

¹ *Katholizismus und Protestantismus in der Gegenwart, vornehmlich in Deutschland*, von D. Dr. Heinrich Hermelink, Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Marburg (Perthes Verlag, Gotha; 1923).

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TAKE NOTE.—Any Book Reviewed, Advertised, or otherwise mentioned in The Expository Times (or from any other source) can be supplied on the shortest notice.

circulates among University students, Philip Funk, formerly Editor of the Modernist magazine, *The Twentieth Century*, gave expression to the triumphant joy with which the 'Monastic Spring' had been welcomed. Hermelink instances prosaic facts which explain and justify the poetic phraseology. In 1901 Matthias Erzberger, who was then a schoolmaster in Württemberg, issued an appeal for the restoration to the Roman Catholic Church of convents of which it had been unjustly deprived between 1802-1810. Within twenty years after the publication of this appeal, this 'first Erzberger programme' had an unexpected fulfilment owing to the end of the War and the signing of the Peace Treaty by the author of the pamphlet. In the Appendix, details are given of the increase of monasteries and convents up to the end of 1921. In two years the number of settlements for monks and lay brothers had increased by 98, and for women by 365. The Franciscans and the Benedictines are more in favour than the Dominicans and the Jesuits. The facts adduced show that there is ground for the confidently expressed conviction that the newly revived prosperity of the various Orders is the promise of a Catholic summer.

Although the *Jugendbewegung* is not a Catholic movement, Hermelink directs attention to the significant fact that the Evangelical churches have been less influenced by it than the Catholic. 'Quickborn' is the name of the world-wide organization of Catholic youths and maidens in which the new Pope has manifested great interest. Self-government is sanctioned, notwithstanding the protests of older associations. The members are divided into groups, according to their profession or trade, social position, etc. They are under clerical supervision and the aim is directly religious. The appointment of Catholic priests to whom is assigned the pastoral charge of students at the Universities and High Schools may, it is recognized, be abused for propagandist purposes, but Hermelink is of opinion that the Evangelical churches ought to have similar arrangements organized by the Inner Mission.

The Liturgical Revival and especially the 'Eucharistic Spring' are mentioned as signs of Catholic advance. The fixing by Pius X. in 1910, of the age for a child-communicant at seven years was, at the time, most unwelcome to many Catholics in Germany; now they acclaim his wisdom, alike for this regulation and for his action in holding in

1910 the first Eucharistic Congress in Rome. This liturgical movement is often spoken of as another Renaissance, reviving older classical forms of ceremonial and worship. Its spread amongst the laity will depend upon the attitude of pious Catholics, who do not easily assimilate modes of celebrating Mass to which they have not been accustomed.

As showing the marked improvement in the relation of the Papacy to general culture, stress is laid on the Dante Encyclical of Pope Benedict xv. (1921)—'the first Papal proclamation to all the Catholics in the world to honour the memory of a great man who had not been canonized by the Church.' Towards the end of the first part of his work, Hermelink notes, with satisfaction, the tendency of Catholic philosophy to become more metaphysical, referring with high appreciation to the prominent place given to philosophy in the training of the Catholic clergy. He also gives examples of changes for the better in the attitude of Catholicism to art and literature.

The publication by Benedict xv. in 1917 of the new *Codex Juris Canonici* is described as 'a Papal victory, unparalleled and wrought in silence.' The old Codex was extensive and complex, a book of reference for officials, its laws being capable of diverse interpretations. The new Codex is terse and rigid, the selected canons having been poured into a Roman mould; they form a book of laws binding upon and comprehensible by every Catholic. The new Code of Laws tightens the regulations concerning mixed marriages; when celebrated in Evangelical churches their validity is no longer to be recognized. 'The Codex does indeed distinguish between "invalid" marriages and concubinage, but amongst Catholics as a rule the distinction is not heeded.'

Already Hermelink has referred to Catholic tactics which only a biased judge can approve; he proceeds to give other reasons why Catholicism in Germany cannot be portrayed solely in rosy tints. There are deep shadows in the picture due to the findings of the Biblical Commission that condemned Modernism and to the Jerome Encyclical of 1920 (*Spiritus Paraclitus*), which made binding upon all Roman Catholics the declaration of the Commission that the Bible is 'entirely free from error, even in profane matters.' To read the writings of Old Testament scholars who would not be false to science whilst remaining loyal to the Papacy is to discover the Achilles heel of modern

Catholicism. As regards the conversions to Catholicism the principle is laid down that 'they should be weighed, not counted.' Instances are given when the losses were more numerous and important than the gains. In Hermelink's considered judgment Protestantism lost more converts of note in the period immediately before the War than since the revolution. He also points out that account is seldom taken of the number and quality of those who have seceded from Romanism to Protestantism. In the present situation, however, Catholicism has clearly gained, inasmuch as its representatives in Parliament have held high official position and have exercised great, indeed determining, influence, although many German Catholics have been in opposition to the policy of the Government.

The section in which Catholicism in Germany is considered in the light of the international situation is both interesting and instructive, on account of the information received by the author from other countries, but it may be passed over here. Answering the question, What should be the attitude of German Protestantism to Catholicism? he insists on the desirability of recognizing, more frankly than has hitherto been the wont of Protestants, the spiritual power of Catholicism and its influence on general culture. The *Kulturkampf* must cease. A democratic and socialistic majority is politically in opposition to the Centre or Catholic party, but it need not, therefore, always be in antagonism to the Catholic Church. The policy of the anti-clericals ought not to find favour with those who are interested in theology and ecclesiastical affairs. If the politician is also a theologian he will realize that the two great confessions must exist side by side for a period of which the end cannot be foreseen, and that they are called to fight not against each other, but alongside each other on the spiritual battlefield. Alike as citizens and as Christians, each needs to know the other better. In camps and trenches Catholic and Protestant chaplains held friendly intercourse; that fellowship must be continued and become more general. A good example was set by the *Evangelischer Bund* at its meeting in May 1921 at the foot of the Wartburg. A resolution was passed expressing willingness to join with Catholics in the battle against unbelief and all anti-Christian practices, the sole condition of the alliance being the recognition of the Evangelical church as an historic form of Christianity. The

suggestion of a Jesuit father that both should cease from all propaganda opens up a most difficult question, and compels Hermelink to insist on the distinction between a 'mission' and 'propaganda.' The purpose of an Evangelical mission is to spread among the nations the blessings of the gospel; the aim of Catholic propaganda is to gather men into the one Church outside of which there is no salvation.

A proposal has been made to establish Catholic professorships in Protestant seminaries in order that theological students may have the opportunity of studying both confessions. Hermelink wisely urges that it would be most difficult to secure complete reciprocity, which is obviously essential. He himself has ventured to make an interesting experiment by taking his students to Fulda for a few days to attend lectures at the Roman Catholic seminary and at the Franciscan college. In his opinion it would be good for the Fulda students to spend a little time at Marburg. But he does not report the attainment of this ideal reciprocity. Another suggestion, made by Dr. Martin Rade, the Editor of *Die Christliche Welt*, has received Jesuit approval. Father Duhr would assent to the setting up of an inter-confessional commission, with power to consider grievances, and with instructions to examine school books, in order that false statements about either confession may be removed. This suggestion is pressed upon the Assembly of the Catholic Bishops of Germany for favourable consideration.

More important than any external arrangement is the cultivation of a spirit of mutual understanding. Whatever may be the Catholic response, Hermelink would have Protestants study Romanism until they discover the secret of its power of attraction; but he would also have them study history, which proves that two different conceptions of God underlie the two confessions, and find expression in hymns and in worship. 'Protestant'—whether Lutheran, Reformed, or sectarian—is a name of honour. Spiritual freedom is the heritage of the Reformation. From the Catholic supernaturalism of ecclesiastical tradition with all its complexities, Protestantism reverts to the Apostolic form of Christianity in its simplicity.

Having set aside as impracticable Heiler's 'Evangelical Catholicism,' Hermelink rejects also every form of tolerance which does not include Catholics. His final plea is for a deeper tolerance

which will manifest itself in brotherly kindness such as becomes Christians of every name. This mutual *rapprochement* would not imply any compromise of the truth, but its first result might be that each confession would discern in the other complementary aspects of truth, and the ultimate goal would be the attainment of a higher spiritual unity. Hermelink thinks that Schelling's differentiation is illuminating when he calls the Catholic Church Petrine, the Evangelical Pauline, and the future ideal Church Johannine.

J. G. TASKER.

Leamington Spa.

Buddhist Theosophy.

'I SHALL be satisfied if I have contributed a little to a more complete knowledge of Buddhism,' says Professor Paul Oltramare, when issuing his lengthy tome *La Théosophie Bouddhique* (Geuthner, Paris; pp. 537, 50 fr.). And beyond all doubt his wish has been achieved. This is one of the fullest and most learned books on Buddhism that has appeared for long. There is a freshness in its outlook, a width in its sweep, an enviable knowledge of original authorities, a skill in marshalling huge masses of facts that might easily, with a little less adroitness, have become unmanageable and landed us in sheer bewilderment of mind, that make the work a serious contribution. Those who know no Pali will find here a quite unusually large body of quotations, off the beaten track, and chosen and applied with cunning aptness. Once or twice indeed, no more, there seems a touch of pressing, as the golfers say; on p. 125, line '11, e.g., ought not 'confesses it' to read 'makes amends for it'? The only misprint I have noted in a work crowded with references is on the same page, where line 7 should read *Majjh. N. ii. p. 248*. In any case, these things are the merest trifles, to which it is ungracious and ungrateful to refer, when so very much of interest is heaped up so lavishly before us.

The work starts with a winsome portrait of the Buddha as he moved among men, and a vivid picture of the India in which he lived, its schools of thought, and its keen minds tirelessly teasing at the baffling problems of life, old even then. Not the least happy feature of the book is that, while due weight is given to the importance of the personality of the great teacher, a spirited attempt is made to

trace back portions of his new faith to the rills in which they rose, to correlate him to still earlier thinkers. Yet his originality is fully conceded, and not least in the skill with which he appealed to the laity, and the high place he gave to them. In Nepal to-day the monks live in their convents, but the real religious life is carried on by householders; and our author sees in that a picture of the difference that Buddhism made in a land where the Brahmans had kept things in their own hands, while the people looked on from a distance. After an able study of the spread of the faith and the development of its thinking, in the course of which it is argued that the differences between the Hinayana and the Mahayana are not nearly so radical as is sometimes supposed, and that the latter represents, in part, the earlier tradition, we are brought up against the fundamental fact that Buddha claimed to be first and last of all a 'Saviour,' 'the good physician,' 'the light of the world'; and that the gospel that he preached was above everything else a moral and intellectual therapeutic. The chapter on the healing of the will is long, and brings one face to face with very central things (every one has his own translation for *asava*; here it is 'infection'); even longer is that on the healing of the understanding, in the course of which, one by one, the difficulties which Buddhist thinking raises in our Western minds are frankly faced—how, if there be no soul, is there continuity of being? and what of memory? and individuality? What is it that bears karma? and who is it that transmigrates into that other life? and all the rest of them; ending up with the peculiar problems of the Mahayana, such as the perplexing threefold bodies of the Buddhas, and the like; all honest work and really helpful. A lengthy chapter upon how in point of fact salvation is worked out runs naturally into a discussion of the appearance of the bodhisattvas, and the transformation of the faith from a somewhat self-centred-looking struggle for one's own emancipation into a passion of self-sacrificing zeal that asks no reward—as Santi Deva, for example, has it—but to be reborn time upon time and be allowed to work and live and die for others till there is no creature left whom we can help. Professor Oltramare is not at all convinced that this is a clean-cut distinction: everywhere throughout his book one cannot help observing how grace keeps breaking in. Once indeed he declares that 'if it be grace, it is grace that has been merited,'

and, theoretically, that is undeniable. But always what strikes one is that this world, the make-up of things, is not only absolutely moral, but is somehow on the side of the good man, and helps him in his efforts up towards holiness. And from the very start the really saintly Buddhist was swept along by this current, could not think only of himself, but had to imitate his Master's glory of self-sacrifice. Discussions on Nirvana, and that bewildering word the dharma, and a study of Buddhism in relation to the other Indian faiths, bring to an end a full and satisfying book. The final conclusion drawn is curiously unexpected in its somewhat niggardly appreciation. 'Does not music teach us that you cannot end upon a discord?' asks Dora Greenwell. After all the splendours through which we have been led, the final sentence here, 'the ideal of the Buddhist is a cruel mutilation of man,' is a somewhat jarring note on which to close.

Dom Henri Quentin tells us that the researches of fifteen years lie at the back of his study of the Vulgate text. And one can well believe it. *Mémoire sur l'Établissement du Texte de la Vulgate*: Collectanea Biblica Latina, vol. vi. (Desclée, Rome), is a work not for the general reader, but for specialists. This first volume deals only with the text as far as Ruth. But the expert knowledge of masses of manuscripts here shown, and the patient and minute examination of the old printers' various editions, already make it certain that very few possess anything like the fullness of erudition of the author in this field. The work is embellished with many beautiful reproductions; but, in places where the method is being expounded, it is more like a book in higher mathematics than anything else, with its geometrical-looking figures and masses of A's and B's and C's. The conclusions reached are that the earlier printed copies derive almost without exception from a poor text, that of the University of Paris, that the Clementine edition is derived from those of Robert Estienne, which, valuable though they are, are less so than that of Gobelinus Laridius, published in 1530, and that the Manuscripts tend to divide themselves into three classes which appear to trace back to a common source, but which none the less is not the original text.

The Faculty of Protestant Theology at Strasbourg has published a history of itself written by Dr. Ch. Th. Gérold, with the title *La Faculté de*

Théologie et le Séminaire Protestant de Strasbourg (Librairie Istra, Strasbourg; 15 fr.). It is a brave little story, in the main local in its appeal, yet not altogether so. Behind the tales, which could be gathered from any college, of high-spirited students and absent-minded scholars, and professors of prodigious learning (one was reputed to be quite at home in nineteen languages), and here and there the emerging of a phenomenon not unknown elsewhere—a teacher through whose dreary hour a bored class yawned miserably—there lies the gallantry that faced difficulties of many kinds, and overcame them all. After 1870 some of the professors took office under the new order of things, but others could not bring themselves to that, and left Alsace. Auguste Sabatier, who had been recently appointed to a Chair, resigned; but remained in the country till he was expelled for a comparison, in a lecture, of French and German women little favourable to the latter. There is a quietly happy conclusion. 'In November 1919 the French University of Strasbourg was inaugurated with solemn rites, and a new Faculty of Protestant Theology came into being exactly a century after the foundation of the original one.'

M. Clavier in his *L'Expérience de la Vie Éternelle* (Librairie Fischbacher, Paris) starts out from this, that all the ages down there have been, as there still are, many who claim to have come into actual contact with eternal life; to have themselves shared in it, even here and even now. And with that he sets himself with zest to an examination of this claim, to discover if there be anything in it; and if so, if we can find here any indication of what may await us by and by. It is a long pilgrimage he carries out, though he condenses his account of it into some two hundred lucid pages. The road twists and turns into all kind of places; and our author's full mind heaps up facts from every quarter. The ancient Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh, and letters from laddies at the front during the War; the Upanishads here, and Dr. Fosdick there; one never knows what one will find on the next page, which goes to make an interesting book. First, he examines the claims of the Spiritualists, ancient and modern; but finds little there of value. Next, taking a much wider flight, he plunges into the various forms of pantheistic mysticism wherein the devotee claims to have attained union with the Divine; and emerges out of these deep waters,

somewhat disappointed, with a pearl indeed in his hand, but, as he feels, a poor and very little one. But the personal mystics, as he calls them, yield him much more, something that he feels to be solid and impressive and dependable. It is in Christianity that he finds far the most of value. There is a somewhat detailed treatment of Christ's teaching on eternal life, and of the claim of many of His followers to have shared in that life on this earth; and with that the first part of the book, wherein the facts are gathered, is brought to a close. The second, which deals with the laws that govern this eternal life and such like matters, seems rather to fall away; leaves the impression that we have

been searching with immense activity for what turns out to be nothing very great. Did we not know before that eternal life is the moral, spiritual, and religious life raised to a higher degree? Nor is there novelty in the conclusion that in the beyond there is likely to be continuity of being and a progress upward. M. Clavier is not sure indeed whether this last is true of every one, but he has hopes. An interesting book, but like a moorland path that, leading one into many fascinating places, fades away, or reaches only one small shepherd's cottage.

A. J. GOSSIP.

Aberdeen.

The Love of God.

By THE REVEREND ALBERT E. BAKER, M.A., VICAR OF WETWANG, YORKSHIRE.

CHRISTIAN ethics depends on theology, and Christian theology depends on history. Using the word 'theology' in its strict sense, the reasoned systematic account of men's knowledge of God, Christian theology must be regulated and defined by one particular piece of history, the recorded life of Jesus of Nazareth, as that is understood in its setting in the New Testament. *Mensura enim Patris Filius*. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity, stated at Chalcedon in metaphysical rather than in ethical terms, implies a vision of the Divine Love so exalted that nobody outside the Christian tradition ever dared to imagine it; it was revealed in our blessed Lord Himself. Our understanding of Christ's revelation of God can be checked, then, by comparing the moral ideal which would naturally grow out of it with His own recorded moral teaching. And, in the same way, we can be quite certain that we have fallen short of a full sympathy with His life and practical teaching if they seem to us to imply a view of God less consistently ethical than was His. If a man hold, with fullness of inner certainty and self-oblation, the articles of the Catholic faith, doubtless the fruit of his faith will be a life of moral perfection. 'Whosoever would be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.' And, conversely, the fruit of obedience is insight. 'If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God.' These principles provide the 'co-

ordinates,' as the relativity people would say, with reference to which the love of God must be described. Let us consider one or two examples.

Christian ethics depends on theology. So the command to forgive is linked up with the promise of forgiveness. The strange story of the Labourers in the Vineyard shows how God treats men, and how man should treat his brother. Men are to be kind to the unthankful and the evil, and to salute those who do not salute them, that they may be children of that Heavenly Father who shows us how wrong-doing ought to be met, and how the wrong-doer should be treated, by sending His rain on the just and the unjust alike, and causing His sun to shine on the evil as well as on the good. He does not discriminate against the sinner by giving him less of His good gifts than He gives to the righteous. Resist not evil, we might say, because your Father does not resist. Do not do to others what they do to you, because there is no evidence that your Father acts by that rule. Provisionally we may say that God punishes the wicked by showing them how much He loves them, as He rewards the righteous by showing them how much He loves them. Whether this is a pleasant experience for the wicked we shall consider later.

For the Christian, the life of Jesus is the definition of the character of God. What does this tell us of God's character and, in particular, of His love? Our Lord came to fight against sin, and to set up

on earth the Kingdom of God. It is, then, if we believe in the Incarnation, more than a pathetic accident that He was the son of a village girl, and was brought up in a little house, and chose His apostles largely from among the manual workers. These things mean that He did not believe that economic power, or social prestige, or 'influence' in Church or State, was strong enough to achieve what He had in view. In the 'Temptation' He refused the methods which might bribe man out of his freedom, or trick him by sensationalism, or destroy his freedom by force; He chose the way that meant a free appeal to the conscience and will of free men, though the cost of it should be loneliness and misunderstanding and failure and suffering. He worked no miracle to strike dead those who oppressed the poor; He called on no armies of angels to drive the cruel conquerors or evil-living usurpers from the thrones of the Land of Promise. It is by nothing less powerful than humility and meekness that He can put down the mighty from their seats. And for the more difficult task of winning men, as for the narrower business of self-defence, He had none but moral weapons. He could not 'speak up for Himself,' as men say; He did not hit back. He saved others, Himself He could not save. His word 'Father, forgive' is not a gesture of idealistic emotion, divorced from common sense, but the expression of His thought-out, tested conviction that no less difficult means were powerful enough to conquer these men for God. That was His counter-attack. Only by such patience could He triumph. To have forced men into the right path would have been failure. A weaker, less Divine King would have dominated men by the force of His personality. It needed greater strength not to do so, to respect their freedom. Mr. Chesterton has said that gentleness is strength to spare. When we see a love which completely respects the personalities of others, we see a love which is *omnipotence in action*. Christ reveals the moral quality of the metaphysical attributes of God. Majesty, omnipotence, omniscience—these are not external, non-moral qualities, of which a person can be 'emptied' or can 'empty himself' without moral and spiritual degradation. (It is possible that St. Paul would have been much surprised if he had been told of the theology of 'kenosis' which a careful logic was to develop from the unpremeditated picture of Christ's self-emptying by which he exhorted the

Philippians to humility.) The majesty of Christ is personal. The crown of thorns and the worn-out purple were put on Him in derision; but there is real poetic justice about them, and a perfect inner appropriateness. Such things were done by 'the determinate counsel and fore-knowledge of God.' No man would dare to say that any more appropriate symbols could be found of the Divinity of the Son of Man. That crown, that robe, that sceptre, make the regalia of an emperor look theatrical and unreal. They are the inevitable insignia of a King who is the Father of His subjects, whose power must be revealed as Love, who is jealous lest their freedom should be shadowed by any hint of limitation. He reveals almighty power 'most chiefly in showing mercy and pity.'

Such a view of God is the only adequate foundation for a theory of conduct which is fully Christian. The tragic desolation of human sin—of our own sin and of the sin of others—can be redeemed only by a God who is Love, and only Love. It is only enough if Love is not *one* of the attributes of God, but all of them. The story of the Prodigal Son presents the challenge of Christ's own conviction with undying freshness. The father does not punish the younger son; he makes no conditions before he forgives him; he does not wait until he has proved the genuineness of his repentance; he does not so much as mention the fact that he forgives him. If we put this story beside our Lord's prayer from the Cross, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,' we seem to be shut up to the conclusion that He believes that God forgives people not *because* they repent, not *after* they repent, but *in order that* they may repent. His grace takes the initiative. That is His way of punishing the sinner; and if a man knows his own heart, he will know that no other way could so certainly break down the sinner's attempts at self-justification, and forestall his attempts to blame his environment, his bad companions, his heredity, or anything else. If there was one unhappy, broken-hearted wretch when the music and the dancing and the fatted calf were being enjoyed, it was not the elder brother, but the younger. And the only alternative open to the father—that he should agree that the prodigal was no more worthy to be called his son—is impossible. There is no reason to believe that it would have reformed the wastrel. And, surely, it would mean that we should have lost

the only completely ethical representation of God's perfection that has ever been given in human speech.

We are coming to believe that virtue is its own reward. We find it not impossible to understand that it would be unworthy of God, and unworthy of man, if righteousness were rewarded with houses and lands and power over the lives of others. And a heaven of sensuous bliss is no payment for a life of well-doing. 'Give me the wages of going on—and not to die.' The more completely ethical our religion becomes, so that the goal of life is to do the will of God, and that will of God is thought of as seeking only that which is moral and reasonable, the more satisfying does it become to say that God rewards the righteous by showing them how much He loves them. But we have yet to arrive at a similar corporate certainty that vice is its own punishment. The desolation that sin is in the heart of the sinner, the desolation that it works in the life of the brotherhood, the separation from God that it expresses and produces, are themselves its punishment. Any other punishment can have no meaning, no bitterness, and produce no significant suffering, except as a symbol of the punishment which is sin itself. The more we understand of the love of God, the more we shall understand of sin. The fire that is never quenched, the worm that does not die, the lake of everlasting torment, are these not, at best, only inadequate symbols of the suffering of one who should realize what his sin meant to the infinite love of a perfectly righteous God? And if the aim of punishment be, not merely to make the sinner smart, or to 'vindicate the moral law' ('a beautiful abstraction beloved of theologians alone'), but to save the

sinner, is there any punishment that a perfectly wise God could devise except—to show the sinner how much He loves Him?

We need not be afraid, we poor sinners, that such a punishment will not hurt us, or even those other sinners who deserve to suffer so much more than we do, as much as we or they deserve. When the Lord turned and looked upon Peter, and he went out and wept bitterly, was it anger or love that broke his heart? In the *Dream of Gerontius*, Dr. Newman described an angel bearing the departed soul to judgment—'into the veiled presence of our God.' The eager spirit darts from his hold:

And, with intemperate energy of love,
Flies to the dear feet of Emmanuel;
But, ere it reach them, the keen sanctity,
Which, with its effluence, like a glory, clothes
And circles round the Crucified, has seized,
And scorch'd, and shrivell'd it; and now it lies
Passive and still before the awful Throne.
O happy, suffering soul! for it is safe,
Consumed, yet quicken'd, by the glance of God.

The sternness of Jesus Christ, and of God as Jesus reveals Him, is the expression of the infinite demands of love, and of love's terrible optimism. There is nothing weak about love. If a man thinks there is, let him try for a week to trust his life only to love—to make it his only motive, his only weapon, his only method, his only protection. The shuddering awe which man feels in the presence of the Divine belongs of right to Holy Love. Any other divinity is left behind by the moral progress of humanity itself. This alone, at last, can we worship, for this alone is infinitely beyond our grasp—the Love of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the Study.

Virginibus Puerisque.

Better than Wireless.¹

'Thou shalt be visited with earthquake.'—Is 29⁸.

It's dreadfully cold getting up in the mornings, isn't it? Once outside it's fine. And the colder the morning the better. In winter that means slides—great long ones half-way down the street

¹ By the Reverend A. J. Gossip, M.A., Aberdeen.

until somebody comes and salts them. And spring and autumn often bring fog or mist, and you go off to school through a queer, creepy kind of world, and all the way pretending such big adventures. But it's the getting out of bed that is the business! Over you go at last. Ough! How shivery you are before you get your flannels on! Your teeth are chattering, your feet are lumps of ice, you wish you lived somewhere else,

where it's always warm and sunny and there are no dark, horrid, shivery mornings!

Yet, I don't know. I'd rather have cold than earthquakes any day. It must be wretched to feel the earth go wobbly under you, to see the walls run squint, and then reel back at you, like things in a nightmare, and to waken up screaming. And in really warm places they're apt to have so many earthquakes. The clever folk, you know, have made an instrument that tells whenever one happens, and they come quite often. I don't know how it works. And I feel just as you do at an exam. when the master comes and reads over your shoulder, and you're not sure that you are right, and want to cover it with your hand. There's sure to be some silly person who knows all about that instrument who will read this, and I wish that he would go away. Anyhow this is my answer. I think that when the earth keeps steady the seismograph, that's what they call it (yes, I think that they are rather juggins to give it a name as long as that!)—anyway the seismograph makes a straight line on a roll of paper. But when the earth gets jolted by an earthquake—well, you know what happened in the writing class when some one jogged your arm and the pen went with a splutter and a splash of ink away up to the top of the page; so, here too, the jolts are all marked down like that. Now suppose a man has an instrument like that (what was it called?). He goes to sleep; he gets up by and by and has his breakfast; he sets off to his office; he looks at his seismograph (got it this time), and, 'Hullo,' he says, 'something's been happening somewhere.' Perhaps it was only a wee shuggle, perhaps it was a big shake, it may have been under the sea or somewhere where it didn't matter. But, big or little, there it is marked down.

You've got an instrument like that. Oh no! you say, we haven't even got a wireless yet. I would so love to have one, and all the other fellows are always talking about theirs. But no such luck for me. Well, never mind! The next time they put on side to you, you say, 'That's nothing; we've got an instrument that tells us all the earthquakes.' That'll make them sit up. They've all got one too, of course, but then they won't know. So that'll be all right! But I haven't, you say! Yes, you have. You call it your conscience. And what is that but just a queer thing that marks down all the storms and the tempests and the

rows and the earthquakes there are in your day? That time you threw a stone and broke somebody's window, nobody saw, but your conscience went up with a jolt like your pen in the writing class and you were unhappy till you told Dad all about it. That other afternoon when Mother told you to be sure and change when you came in, it was so wet and slushy, and you were hungry, or you had left too little time for lessons. Anyhow you didn't; and when next day you were hot and ill and had to stay in bed you just had to tell her all about it. It's all marked down there every time by your own seismograph.

It seems a pity that the instrument can't tell before the earthquake, doesn't it? It's so little use afterwards! But if it could warn before, it would do quite a lot of good. It's like the bell above some shop doors in quiet streets. The people don't want to stay all day in the shop, and so they fit up a bell, and when you push the door open, then the bell begins to ring, and they know that somebody is coming into the shop. But suppose it only rang when you were going out! Why, a thief might come in and snatch up a heap of things, and they would only know when he was making off, and by the time they ran there he would have got clear away!

Why does the seismograph tell us only after it's all happened? But it doesn't. They have found out, or are just perfecting, a new kind that will give warning long before the earthquake comes. I understand that when it feels a shaking just beginning, it shows, or is to show, a red light. And when the wise men see that light they'll flash a message to the part of the world that is in danger, 'Earthquake coming. Run for it. Keep away from buildings or else they may fall on you!' And so many people may be saved, when this thing really works.

Well, you say, if conscience could do that, then there would be some sense in it, and not just tell us all about it afterwards. But, dearie me, it does. Didn't you know? If you use wireless the wrong way you'll hear nothing, never a sound. And you've been using this the wrong way. That's quite certain. For it always tells when something wrong is coming. 'Don't,' it says. 'Play the game,' it keeps calling. Look, there's the red light showing. There's a temptation coming. Something is going to try to make you cross or selfish or sulky or lazy. If we would only use this wonder-

ful thing we have, we would hear, not somebody talking in Newcastle or London or Cardiff, but God Himself speaking straight to you and me! If we would only watch for the red light, the game wouldn't be spoiled by peevishness or temper, and our day and all that was to be so jolly wouldn't all be shaken into ruins and unhappiness; we would escape the earthquakes every time.

THREE PARABLES.¹

The Parable of the Thorn.

Thorns are unfulfilled possibilities. As human vices have been defined as inverted virtues, thorns are inverted graces. They are abortive buds or branches, turned to other uses by Nature. In conditions specially unfavourable, a whole plant may thus become abortive, and branch and bud and leaf run to thorns. That is the case with some species of cactus, where the whole plant resembles a military despotism, where all is for defence and nothing for grace. Stunted through lack of nourishment, a flora tends to become spiny. Some deserts are entirely given over to such growths, each plant fiercely protecting its scanty moisture. For none has anything to share. Deserts have few generous moods.

The ultimate and hopeful fact about thorns is that under other conditions they might have been buds, issuing in fruitful branch or beautiful leaf. Under cultivation thorns do disappear. Several fruit trees, for instance, the apple and the pear, are thorny in the wild state. But cultivation has emancipated them from the thorn habit.

Not a few modern plant conversions have their origin in this nature of the thorn. After years of experiment, Luther Burbank has produced a thornless and edible cactus. The species had centuries of evil habits behind it, and to the unseeing eyes might have seemed beyond hope. Burbank saw the possibilities of the thorns. He saw the plant's fine qualities, thriftiness and hardihood, if only the entail of thorny habit could be broken. After one of the most curious romances of plant life, it has been broken and the cactus has been given a future and a hope.

If such things are possible in Nature, who will dare to say what things are impossible to Grace. Evil tendencies may there also be broken and new hope brought to seemingly hopeless lives.

¹ By the Reverend F. C. Hoggarth, Whalley.

The Parable of the Strained Wire.

There is an old legend of a knight who had chosen a solitary fort beside the Rhine for his dwelling. Filled with a curious notion of having music about his lonely home, he hung wires from turret to turret that on this improvised harp the winds might play. But the days brought no music.

One night the sun set threateningly; then a storm broke, of terrific force. The old knight grew strangely restless, and presently he went outside into the storm. He saw the lightning-slashed blackness, and presently he heard, at the heart of the night's wildness, a melody. His wires were playing. There was music from that unexpected quarter. All that they had needed was a storm to rouse their songs. As Dr. Hutton points out, the very word 'strain' has a dual and suggestive meaning. It applies equally to the stretched wire and to the music that sleeps in it. A strain is both tension and song.

Many of the world's noblest songs recall the knight of the Rhine and his storm music. They also are harmonies won from a storm, melodies heard at the heart of wildness. How true that is of many of the greatest Psalms. 'In peace I will both lay me down and sleep, for thou, Lord, alone makest me to dwell in safety' is a storm song. It was beloved of Luther for that reason, for, born in the wild, it speaks most comfortably to those whose lot it is to live in the wild. 'The Lord is my Light and my Salvation, whom shall I fear?' is the tuneful confidence of one whose days were troublous and whose adversaries and foes were round about him in much threatening. So is it with our greatest hymns. Luther's 'Ein Feste Burg,' Cowper's 'God moves in a mysterious way,' Julia Ward Howe's 'Mine eyes have seen the glory,' are all songs born of the storm.

The Parable of the Uphill Road.

In cycling, I have discovered that an uphill gradient is more easily taken by night than by day. I have marvelled at the comparative ease with which in the darkness, I have reached the summit of some rise, that in the light would apparently have demanded much more determined and strenuous going. I have ridden hills at night with no undue strain, at the foot of which I should have dismounted by day.

The kindly night shrouds the road and so helps one's going. All one sees is the bit of lighted road

illuminated by the rays of the cycle lamp, and so the gradient is mounted bit by bit. Where I might be certain that I could not climb a hill did I see it in its formidable and challenging completeness, it hardly occurs to me that I cannot pull off the next ten or twenty yards.

Moreover, there is frequently an illusion of levelness or of descent, there in the darkness just beyond the lamplight. There may be no descent at all, and coming to that point the road is found to be still an uphill way, yet the illusion helps.

There is great gain in not being able to see too far ahead. Could we see the distant scene, our going would be greatly embarrassed. There is a whole deep philosophy of life in the phrase, 'One step enough for me.' That indeed is the way to travel. The hill difficulty is never too formidable provided we do not see it whole in the distance.

The Christian Year.

SEVENTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.

The Incomplete Virtue of Resignation.

'Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.'—Mt 6¹⁰.

No petition in the Lord's Prayer is so frequently misinterpreted as this. It is generally associated in our minds with something harsh and forbidding, something which throws over our life the shadow of a cross. When we use this prayer, what is the attitude we too often put into it? Is it not merely a kind of pious resignation to a dark fate which we cannot avert?

Now, is this right? Was Christ merely commending here a spirit of resignation? Was He merely commending here a kind of baptized fatalism, a stoical patience with adversity, in the name of the will of God. Is there not something braver in this prayer, something bigger, something we can see and desire and consecrate ourselves to, with all our hearts, when life is sunny as when it is dark?

There are two things which this resignation idea forgets. The first is that God is not the author of many of the things which we are accustomed to call the will of God. Are we going to make God responsible, for instance, for all the sickness and the sorrow that darkens our life and say of it, 'It is the will of God'? Is God the author of our poverty-stricken, drink-polluted slums? Is God responsible for the war through which we have

just passed, with all its heart-breaking sorrows and shattered lives? Are we going to say that these things are the will of God? It is these that are the root causes of many of the hard circumstances and conditions in which men live their lives to-day. Can these be the will of God? If this were His will, is this a will we could bow down to without losing our self-respect and the best qualities of our soul?

How are we to regard these things, and what cause are we to assign to them? That is the mystery of mysteries. But no man whose life has been touched by calamity dare make God responsible for it, without landing himself in a hopeless problem, and without doing an injury to his own vision of God. Whatever brought evil into our life, it is not of God's sending; it is not of God's willing; it is rather the breaking of God's plan. Our hard conditions are the best He could do for us in a world such as man has made it. The difficult lot in which men find themselves is the result of His will baffled and spoiled by the conflicting passion and selfishness of men. It is not God's original will—His divine decree.

The second thing this resignation idea forgets is, that the will of God is something we have to do. It is not something which is done in spite of us. God's will is only done as we help Him to do it. God's will is something we must do. It is something in which we have to play our part—a voice we have to hear and obey—a purpose we have to see and carry out—a plan we have to approve and work upon—a line of active love we have to grasp, and link up our lives with. 'God mend all,' said the workman in Carlyle's story, to his master, looking at the ruin of his country. 'Nay, but we must help Him to mend it,' was the answer. That is what Christ means.

Now, what is the will of God? What is the active purpose which lies at the foundation of the world? What is the thing God is seeking in and through our lives, and seeking our help to carry out? There is only one word that can express it—the Word that 'was made flesh, and dwelt among us.' Christ is the light in which the mind and will of God become clear. Whatever our life may be, God's will for us is to make us like Jesus.

And look again, what is the larger purpose for which Christ strove? Was it not the redeeming of the world, of the whole world, to make the lives of men beautiful and strong and true, and bind

them together in love and loyalty till they become a kingdom of God, and the world their Father's house? Watch Him as He goes here and there, healing the sick, driving out devils of lust, speaking a cheering word to some down-hearted soul, taking men and women and remaking them, and breathing into them the breath of love which is the breath of life. That was the will of God taking shape. That was the will of God being done. Can we see this will of God without loving it, without desiring it, without our whole being going out towards it as the real ambition of life? Is there anything greater in life or any greater way of looking at life, than just to realize that we have some part to play in this great purpose, some contribution to make to it?

Now, what is the attitude to life in its various aspects which this seeking of God's will demands?

1. There is the attitude of brave acceptance of life's inevitable hardships and sorrows as the condition in which we have to seek the will of God. Notice what this means. It means something more than resignation to a lot we cannot avoid, though it be hard to bear. Listen to what R. L. Stevenson says about resignation. He is talking about the garden of the soul, and the various plants which are to be cherished there. 'There is a plant called winter-green, or Resignation, otherwise known as the False Gratitude plant. It is a showy plant, but leaves little margin for profit. "John, do you see that bed of Resignation? I will not have it in my garden! It flatters not the eye and comforts not the heart. Root it out—out with it! And in its place put a bush of Flowering Piety, but see it be of the flowering sort."' What is wrong with resignation is, that it does not go far enough. It does not flower, it does not blossom. It is more than resignation that is demanded. It is acceptance of the hard circumstances and the sorrowful way, if these be our portion, as the conditions in which we are to find and to do the will of God. But the conditions themselves are not the full will of God. They are only the terms on which we are to live out the life God would have us live, and play our part in the loving purpose of God, which is salvation for us and for all the world. Not merely to bow our head to the sorrow, but to seek to shape our lives in that sorrow, so that we shall do the will of God and show forth that courage and faith and loving-heartedness which are the nature of Jesus. Not merely to resign ourselves to walk

a lonely way or carry a difficult cross, but walking that way and carrying that cross, to find our place in the service of God and fill it to the full—that is to do the will of God.

2. Then again, it is a prayer for the discernment of God's will in the perplexing decisions and hard choices of life.

There are many means by which the Spirit guides us in these perplexing ways. There is the guidance of an inward discernment, a fineness and delicacy of perception which some people have above others. Or it may come in what we may call the guidance of circumstances. How often it has happened in a man's life that the great choices were in a way taken out of his hands, and that he was led on from point to point by the directing hand of circumstances! It may be objected that the guidance of circumstance is often misleading. So it is. Circumstances are like everything else in life. They take their colour from our own minds. The great thing is to get into the right attitude of mind, and in that attitude think things out. And the right mind is the mind that seeks only the will of God, the mind that is alert for opportunity, because it is lit with the passion to do the will of God.

3. Further, it means a spirit of battle and service amid the ills of life and the needs of others. Many of the ills of life have no right to bring us resignation. They should bring into our soul the spirit of rebellion. If God permits them at all, it is for this one reaction upon our souls, to rouse us to a crusade which will sweep them right away as having no proper place in God's universe. This is true of many of the ills of our own life. We have no business to endure them. There is a good deal of ill-health, for instance, to which we have no right to resign ourselves. No man has any right to be resigned to ignorance who has time on his hands and books at his elbow. There is an apathy which is the sin of sins, because it foils God's passion of self-giving. Above all, we dare not be resigned to any sin or vicious habit which stains our own life.

Shall crime bring crime for ever—

Strength aiding still the strong;

Is it Thy will, O Father,

That man should toil for wrong?

No, say Thy mountains. No! Thy skies.

Man's clouded sun shall brightly rise,

And songs ascend instead of sighs.

That is the note this prayer demands—the note of battle that challenges every wrong, the note of service which seeks every healing and redeeming way. Every scientist who is rooting out disease is doing the will of God. Every man who is seeking to make life sweeter and better is doing the will of God. Every philanthropist who is trying to assuage the tide of human misery, every politician who seeks to bring in better conditions of life for the people, is doing the will of God. This is a fighting prayer. It is a worker's prayer. It is the prayer of the eager heart, longing for a world in which dwelleth righteousness. 'Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.'¹

EIGHTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.

The Christ of the Apocalypse.

'What think ye of Christ?'—Mt 22⁴⁸.

'The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John.'—Rev 1¹.

The Book of Revelation stands by itself in the New Testament. It is a very familiar book, and to many it is very attractive, and yet its secret is a very hard one to discover.

It is an apocalypse, a revelation. It purports to contain the words of Jesus Christ through His angel, to His servant, for His Church, and it belongs to a large class of literature. It has close affinities with many similar books, like the Assumption of Moses, the Book of Enoch, and the Book of Esdras, all of them strange and obscure writings, of the meaning of which we still know very little, yet which are closely paralleled by much that we find in this book. And it was a class of literature that sprang out of the circumstances of the day.

What now, we ask, is the delineation of Jesus Christ which we find in such a book as this? It should be noted that the picture of Jesus Christ drawn here is altogether characteristic of the writer. Here we are at a time removed by some decades from the life and teaching of Jesus Christ Himself. We are dealing with people who have known Him and worshipped Him and formed churches in His name for some years past; we are dealing with people who have learned to stand up for Jesus Christ against the power of the persecutor, and learned that it was better to die for Christ than

live for the world, the flesh, or the devil. It is natural, therefore, to ask what attitude these people took up to Jesus Christ, and what their teachers told them about Him. It is probably true, as one modern writer says, that this book gives us a better idea than any other part of the New Testament of the way in which Jesus Christ was actually preached to the people of the early Church. He is to them the First and the Last, the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End; He is the King of kings, the Lord of lords; He is at the right hand of God; He is the Lamb in the midst of the throne; He is the one Power in heaven and on earth with whom they have most to do; He is God's Vicegerent; He is God's Word; He is God's Messenger, Prophet, and Priest, and He is King and Lord over all. And this is the historic Christ.

If we attempt to analyse the conception of Jesus Christ that is given here, something of the following kind must be said. There is no Christology in the book, or, rather, no definite and organized Christology. There is no attempt on the part of the writer to give systematic shape and form to his conception. It has to be pieced together from many scattered references. It comes in flashes, and it is not in any sense an ordered and recognized doctrine. But on certain points the teaching of the writer is clear.

1. We find that Jesus Christ was to His Church, as He was to Paul, a *continual and abiding presence*. Those early Christians did not believe in a dead Christ. They did not look back wistfully to the grave in the Garden and seek Him there. He was with them, their Friend and Saviour, their continual help, and they saw Him, many of them, descending from heaven in the smoke of their martyr fires; they felt Him present by their racked and tortured frames; He spoke to them healing words, and gave them His strength. To His Church He was the source and ground of salvation and of life.

2. And this Christ was to them also *the Prophet of God*. In Him they found the very Word of God to their souls. The Logos, that great conception of which their minds were so full, was incarnate in Him and became to them God's Word, and they listened to what He had to say as to the very Voice of God. To these Christians Christ was the Word, not in any technical or metaphysical sense, but as imparting to them the truth of God. He was to

¹ J. Reid, *The Victory of God*, 35.

them the Truth as well as the Way, and in His word they found their law of life.

3. And then, again, Jesus was to these men *the great High Priest*. Sometimes they conceived Him as the Victim and the Sacrifice, but always as the great Intercessor, who stands between God and man. He is the Lamb in the midst of the throne, and He receives, forgives, and comforts His people. There is nothing in the whole Bible stronger than the teaching which we find in this book about the intercessory and atoning work of our Lord Jesus Christ. He takes there the great prerogative of God. The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins. The book is penetrated throughout with that idea, and it was one of the ideas that had come home to the heart of the Christian Church concerning Jesus Christ, that in Him alone is forgiveness to be found.

4. And then He is *the King of kings*. The writer displays his powers of imagination most vividly in depicting the great consummation of all things in Jesus Christ, of the City of God sent down from heaven, of the New Jerusalem, when God's rule shall be established in righteousness. This book is the great missionary book in the Bible, though the fact is not always recognized. It looks forward to the time when Christ shall reign everywhere and over every one; to the time when God's Kingdom shall be perfected, when every knee shall bow to Jesus and every tongue shall call Him Lord; and it looks forward to that time not as to some infinitely distant vision, but as a practical reality. In those days Christians generally, like the writer of this book, felt that they had a part in this great business. It would be well if the Christian Church to-day had anything like the missionary vision which these old saints, these persecuted saints, had. It may be questioned sometimes whether Christians now really believe, as the writer of this book most assuredly believed, that Jesus Christ will reign for ever and ever. Do they think it is possible or practicable that the whole world, every nation, tribe, and tongue, shall come under the dominion of Jesus Christ? Until they have attained to this faith they are not likely to possess the power of the men to whom this Apocalypse was first addressed.

5. This book also makes Jesus Christ not only the future King of the universe, but *the guarantee of the everlasting life of the children of men*. We are all familiar with those exquisite words in which the

writer speaks of the life beyond the grave—'And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away'—words of comfort and hope that have come home to men and women so often since. We do not need to be reminded that this is all attached to Jesus Christ, to His resurrection, and to the life that He imparts through love and faith in His name.¹

NINETEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.

The Worth of the Individual.

'What mean ye, that ye use this proverb, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge? As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die.'—Ezk 18²⁻⁴.

The prophet Ezekiel lived at a critical period in the history of the Jewish people. The kingdom and dynasty founded by David, after a duration of more than four hundred years, was hastening to its close.

Ezekiel thus lived in an age of transition between the old and the new. He witnessed, and suffered in, the great shock which must always accompany a disruption of ties and associations which have continued undisturbed for centuries. This shock brought with it a change in the manner of looking at moral problems. So long as the Jewish state existed, the principle of solidarity was accepted as a recognized principle of the Divine government of the world. Men suffered for the sins of their ancestors; individuals shared the punishment incurred by the nation as a whole. It was what every one saw taking place about him, and it was accepted as an element of the recognized constitution of things.

But the disastrous years which ended in the fall of Jerusalem, and the unprecedented sufferings attending them, gave rise to questionings on this subject which exercised and perplexed many minds. The reflections thus occasioned found expression in a popular proverb, which must have been often heard at the time, for it is quoted by Jeremiah as well as by Ezekiel: 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.' The phrase was meant as an arraignment of the

¹ W. B. Selbie, *Aspects of Christ*, 121.

methods of Providence. The doctrine of transmitted guilt was accepted as a fact of experience, but it no longer satisfied men's deeper moral instincts. There was felt to be in it at bottom something incongruous with perfect justice.

The prophet meets the state of the people's mind by two great principles, enunciated in the first and second parts of the chapter respectively. In the first he sets the individual's immediate relation to God against the idea that guilt is transmitted from father to children: 'All souls are mine; the soul that sinneth, it shall die.' In the second he rejects the idea that a man's fate is so determined by his past life as to make a moral change in him impossible: 'I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth: wherefore turn yourselves, and live.'

1. *The individual's relation to God.* 'All souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die.' *Soul* here does not mean the spiritual or immortal part of man; it denotes merely (as often in Old Testament) an individual person; and the passage means that every individual person stands in immediate relation to God, all belonging to Him alike, the son not less than the father, and thus each is treated by Him independently.

The doctrine of this eighteenth chapter is perhaps the most characteristic element of Ezekiel's teaching. It is evident that the prophet anticipates questions which have often come to the front in modern times. Moral aptitudes and deficiencies are transmitted by inheritance: do not children suffer by reason of faults or tendencies for which they are not themselves strictly and fully responsible? We cannot entirely sever ourselves from our surroundings.

It cannot be denied that there are cases in which the proverb is true, in which the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But as against the view which regards the misfortunes of the present as entirely derived from the mistakes of the past, Ezekiel asserts the truth, which we must all feel to be consonant with justice, that, while allowance will be made for untoward antecedents and circumstances, every man will be judged by God according to what he does himself, and the use he makes of the opportunities which he enjoys.

2. *The call to the individual to repent.* 'All souls are mine.' 'I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth: wherefore turn yourselves, and live.'

The truth which the prophet thus teaches is the emancipation of the individual, through repentance, from his own past.¹

The question of questions for any of us is this, What kind of soul are we building? Is our attitude lifeward or deathward? Are we destroying that beautiful thing that God has given into our keeping? Are we marring the divine image within our hearts? Or do we live that life eternal which is life indeed, and which is to know God and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent?

How can we do it? How arrive at the perfect relationship between God and the soul? Some souls are God's only, as my horse is mine: a senseless, unreasoning, unconscious condition. Some souls are God's as the slave is his master's, unwillingly, grudgingly, longing to escape; but some souls are God's as the truly married are, wholly each other's. 'My beloved is mine, and I am his'; a mutual possession, a mutual self-surrender, a mutual delight. Mutual! How can this be between the poor little soul of man and the infinity of the eternal God? What can we give for what we receive? What can He desire whose are all things? Remember what has been said already of man's unalterable liberty. God made man, but He made him free. God may crush him, but He cannot compel him. Love cannot be commanded; love cannot live but in freedom. This is our own; this we can give to God; this God desires, asks for: 'Son, give me thy heart.'

We have got beyond Ezekiel now. The prophets spake in time past as the Spirit gave them utterance, but in these days their Lord Himself has come and has spoken plainly, and told us all that man may know this side of the grave. He has told us what God is, and what we must do. Nay, He has shown us God, and He has shown us a perfect Man. We know now that God is love, and that the highest privilege of man is to love God with all his heart and mind and soul and strength. We know now, as man never knew before, what those words mean, 'All souls are mine, saith the Lord God.' We scarcely speak now of God, for He has bidden us call Him 'Father.' We meet His eye as we look upward; we feel His arm round us; we look onward to the day when He will take us home, and we shall know even as we are known.²

¹ S. R. Driver, *The Ideals of the Prophets*, 62.

² F. C. Woodhouse, *The Life of the Soul in the World*, 6.

TWENTIETH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.

The Two Sons.

'I go, sir; and went not.'—Mt 21³⁰.

This parable was spoken in the Temple at Jerusalem on the Tuesday before the Crucifixion. The shadow of death was upon Christ, but there was also a shadow whose gloom was perhaps greater still, that of the sense of failure.

This sense of failure finds a direct expression in two of the five parables which were spoken in the last week—the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen in the Vineyard who murdered all their master's servants and crowned their crimes by the murder of his son, and the parable of the King's Marriage Feast to which no guests came except the tramps—and it colours at least the expression of a third of the five, the parable of the Two Sons; for of these two sons neither really does the Father's will on earth as it is done in heaven, and the best approach to such obedience is made by one who at first sulkily refuses to obey at all.

'A man had two sons.' 'Children' would be a better translation. The word conveys just a little more love than the word for 'sons.' The pains and the yearning love of the birth-pang hang about it still. The word 'bairn' is its precise equivalent. In the parable of the Prodigal Son the boys are called 'sons' throughout, except just at the last when the father wishes to soothe the injured feelings of the elder boy, and to do so he says, not as our version runs, 'Son, thou art ever with me,' but, in far tenderer fashion, 'Child, bairnie, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.'

'A man had two children; and he came to the first, and said, Child.' Every little touch is tender. He came himself. No hired messenger would serve. He came just as God comes Himself to fetch us, with that same tender word 'child,' 'bairnie.'

'Go work to-day in the vineyard. And he answered and said, I will not.' Perhaps 'I won't' conveys the meaning better. It is as abrupt as it can be. There is no such term of respect, 'Sir,' as the second son uses.

'But afterwards he repented himself, and went.' Here the English reader again misses a point of great importance. There are two Greek words in the New Testament translated 'repent.' The first, and the common one, which is used more than fifty times, means nothing more than a 'change of

mind.' The second, which is used (in verb and in compounds) only eight times, is the word employed here and in the application of the parable in v.³². It is stronger than 'regret,' far stronger than 'repent,' and not much weaker than 'to be filled with remorse.'

'And he came to the second, and said likewise. And he answered and said, I go, sir; and went not.' There is a smug self-satisfaction about the second son's answer which no English can quite reproduce. The word 'I' appears in the Greek, and whenever this is the case it is always emphatic. 'Never mind, father, what my brother says. He says, I won't; but you know you can trust me. I will go. You can always trust me.' The same point is brought out further by the fact that the Greek does not contain the word 'go.' The only word expressed is an emphatic 'I.'

1. Let us look first for a while at the son who said 'I won't.' He is a common enough type. It is worthy of note, indeed, that our most important MS. of the Greek Testament puts this son second. If we imagine that the father had really spoken to the other first, and that young 'I won't' standing by had heard and understood the meaninglessness of the profession of the first, and in disgust had resolved to be true to himself and not to profess what he did not intend to perform, we get a very close approximation to a type exceedingly common in the world.

It is a curious fact, but fact it is, that the 'I won't's' of this type are usually proud of themselves. They are Pharisees who often think themselves Sadducees, the sceptics of Christ's day. It has been well said that 'the frank confession that they are not good seems to serve some men as a substitute for goodness.' There is then no special virtue and no strength of mind implied in saying this 'I won't.'

Again, the feeblest failure after effort is worth a thousand times more than 'I won't.' There was never a moral gladiator whom the down-turned thumbs of the amphitheatre condemned to death who was not worth more than they who doomed him and lazily turned to their neighbours to remark how miserably the wretch had fought. 'Miserably'—yes, but he had fought, and Clough's lines remain immortally true:

'Tis better to have fought and lost,
Than never to have fought at all.

2. We turn now to the second child. This child stands as a type of the Pharisees who may not have meant all they said, but did mean some of it, while some of them meant all of it. So we may fairly take this child as a type of those who profess at first to be Christ's, but whose practice falls miserably short of their profession.

There is, first, the class of professors, pure and simple. Mere profession suffices; at all events, they rarely get far beyond such. It is a common enough type. What does it mean, and what is the cure for it? It means that the promise has never really gripped the personality, that emotion has been touched, but not will—and therein lies the danger of appeals from the pulpit to the emotions and the cause of the instability of much revival work. The work has been man's, not God's. They say that once a man converted under the preaching of Mr. John Wesley was soon afterwards found sodden by drink. 'A fine convert of yours, Mr. Wesley,' said one to him. 'You speak true, sir,' said Mr. Wesley, 'that is none of God's making.'

Then, there is the class of those who really start and never reach the vines. The roots of their faith have struck right through the shifting sands of emotion, and obtained some hold on the will beneath, but it is not a deep one. There is Mr. Pliable, who stands the jeers of Mr. Obstinate—and a man who can stand sneers must have something in him—and sets gaily out with Christian

towards the Celestial City, dreaming of the glories that await him, and in an altogether heavenly frame of mind until he meets with the Slough of Despond. That is enough for Pliable. 'If we have such ill-speed,' he says, 'at our first setting out, what may we not expect between this and our journey's end? May I get out again with my life, you shall possess the brave country alone for me.'

We can imagine this second son really starting for his work, but as he climbed the precipitous hillside, where the vines were clinging, and as the sun slowly mounted the Eastern sky to his blazing noonday, the resolution gets weaker and weaker until he sits in the shade to rest, and falls asleep. He meant his 'I go, sir,' and he really started; but he 'went not.'

Now make no mistake, it is hard work God calls us to; hard work under hot, unpleasant conditions. He does not say, 'Go talk,' 'Go pray,' 'Go dream.' But we have always this to remember. The Father has called us 'Child,' 'Bairnie,' and the Father has sent us into His own vineyard: 'Child, go work to-day in My vineyard.' The weeds may be there, and the soil may be hard and stony, and the sun may beat pitilessly down upon us, and often it will seem that the more we try the less we accomplish; yet still it is 'My vineyard': 'Child, go work to-day in My vineyard.'¹

¹ W. P. Workman, *Kingswood Sermons*, 44.

The Israel Stele of Merenptah.

BY THE REVEREND J. W. JACK, M.A., GLENFARG, PERTHSHIRE.

THIS Pharaoh, who began to reign over Egypt about 1225 B.C., not only fought the Libyans and pirates of the coast lands, who tried to establish themselves in the Delta, but seems to have carried out, or at least organized a campaign in Palestine. He refers to his numerous victories in an inscription on the back of a fine large granite stele, over ten feet high, which had originally been set up by Amenhetep III of the previous dynasty to commemorate his buildings. The date of the inscription is not later than the fifth year of Merenptah's reign (*i.e.* about 1220 B.C.). Israel is mentioned in this

inscription, though for the first and only time in Egyptian history, so far as existing discoveries have gone. In the latter part of the text, the following sentences occur in the order here given:

'Wasted is Tehenu, Kheta is pacified, Pekanan is captured with every evil circumstance, Askalon is carried captive, Gezer is taken, Yenoam is brought to nought, Israel is destroyed; its seed is not, Syria has become as the widows of Egypt, all the lands together are at peace.'

Tehenu is Libya, Kheta is the Hittite land, Pekanan is 'the Canaan,' Askalon and Gezer are the two well-known Biblical cities in South Palestine, while Yenoam has been identified by some scholars with Yanuh, near Tyre, and by others with Janum or Janin (Jos 15⁵³), a town in the mountains of Hebron. The determinative sign for 'land' accompanies the names, except in the case of Israel ('Ysiraal'), where that for 'men' occurs, denoting a people, not a country.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that Israel is here mentioned for the first time as being outside Egypt, and evidently in Palestine, as an organized and settled community. This has been a serious difficulty to the upholders of the later-date theory of the Exodus, for it is clear that, if the Israelites left Egypt, as these scholars state, in Merenptah's own reign, and wandered in the desert for forty years or more, they could not have been settled in Palestine by the fifth year of his reign. The inscription, indeed, makes the later-date theory practically impossible. There is no reason to doubt the testimony of the stele that Egyptian forces had been in conflict with the Israelites somewhere in Palestine.

The expression 'Israel is destroyed, its seed is not' cannot be taken as representing Merenptah's own version of the Exodus. Strange to say, when the discovery of the stele was made, there were a few who regarded it in this light, considering the flight of the Israelites into the waterless desert to be equivalent, in Merenptah's mind, to their destruction. Deeper reflection, however, led them to see the improbability of this view. The mere fact that Israel is mentioned in the midst of Palestinian cities and localities, thus forming one element in the same group with them, is proof that the expression has to do with Israel in Palestine. Nor can it be taken as referring retrospectively to the repressive measures of Pharaoh in Egypt prior to the Exodus, though several scholars took this view at the time of the discovery. Such an interpretation overlooks the fact that the edicts ordering the slaying of the male children must have been nearly a century old at the time of Israel's departure from Egypt. Not only so, but for a long time they must have been practically inoperative, otherwise there could not have been a younger generation existing at the time of the Exodus, as there certainly was, nor any large body of people at all to form the Israelite nation. Whichever way we look at the

phrase 'Israel is destroyed,' the obvious implication is that the people so named were already living in Palestine at the beginning of this Pharaoh's reign.

It is said by some that the name 'Israel,' being accompanied by the determinative denoting a people, not a country, must be taken as meaning a non-territorial or 'roaming' Israel, *i.e.* it must refer to the time when the Israelites were still 'wandering' in the wilderness. This is the view adopted by those who place the Exodus a few years prior to the date of the stele. There is no ground, however, for this. The determinative undoubtedly represents a people, but why 'roaming'? This is adding an idea not contained in the text. All that the determinative implies is that the Israelites could not as yet be described by any territorial name, as the Libyans could be, who were known to dwell in Tehenu, or the Canaanites who inhabited Canaan, or the Hittites who were in Kheta; consequently the determinative for 'people' was the only one that could be rightly used of them. This fact, moreover, accords with the history of the Israelites for some time after their entry into Palestine. Their conquest of the land was a very gradual process, in spite of the Deuteronomic and Priestly redactors of the Joshua narrative. For the first one or two centuries they were compelled to settle down on sufferance among the Canaanites. It was not until they had strengthened their hold by racial vigour and increase of families that they eventually gained the superiority. For many ages there was no 'Israel-land' or other territorial name connected with them to which the determinative signifying 'land' could be applied; thus the only correct determinative that could be employed was the one denoting 'people.'

Most of the later-date theorists apply the text to Israelite tribes in Canaan who had never descended into Egypt with Jacob, or to a portion who had left Egypt when the great famine was over, or at the time of the Hyksos departure, or at all events before the Biblical Exodus. According to Professor Burney, for instance, only the Joseph tribes (Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin) were settled in Egypt and were led by Joshua across Jordan, while other Israelite tribes continued in Palestine without a break. The Zilpah tribes (Gad, Asher) and Bilhah tribes (Dan, Naphtali), with Reuben, Zebulun, Issachar, and a nucleus of Judah, were

in Palestine all along, while Simeon and Levi were in the desert to the west of Edom. Professor Petrie and others do not take such an extreme view, though they hold it probable that some parties of Israelites at least remained in Palestine during most, if not all, of the time that the others 'sojourned' in Egypt. How much truth there may be in these views it is impossible to say. Any proofs that we have for them are not at least convincing. One supposed proof is the fact that, in the lists of Syrian places captured by Seti I and Rameses I, the immediate predecessors of Merenptah, we find a district called '*Asaru*', corresponding, it is said, to the hinterland of Southern Phœnicia, which is exactly the position assigned in the Old Testament to the Israelite tribe of Asher after the Exodus. Hence the later-date scholars assure us that the tribe of Asher must have been in Canaan all along, since it was there before their date for the Exodus! The identity of '*Asaru*', however, with Asher of the Biblical records must be regarded as most uncertain. The word '*Asaru*' is believed to be a transliteration, not from Hebrew, but from some non-Semitic language; and the geographical location is also a matter of dispute owing to the town-lists of the Pharaohs not being in strict geographical order. Even though the identity of the two names were placed beyond doubt, it would afford little encouragement to the later-date theorists. While it might be regarded from their point of view as proving the existence of the Asher tribe in Canaan prior to the Exodus—though it should be remembered that, after all, the existence of the Asher tribe in Canaan does not explain the word 'Israel' on the stele—it would supply a far stronger confirmation of the early-date theory. For if the Israelites entered Canaan about 1390 B.C., as the early-date scholars hold (according to the Tell el-Amarna Tablets), there was nothing to hinder the tribe of Asher being found in its assigned district by the time of Merenptah, nearly 200 years later. It is exactly what the Biblical account would lead us to expect.

A second proof brought forward is the occurrence of two town-names which are supposed to read Jacob-el (*Y-ḥ-b-ʾā-ra*) and Joseph-el (*Y-š-p-ʾā-ra*) respectively, in the long list of Southern Syrian places inscribed on the pylons of the temple at Karnak, during the reign of Thothmes III, about 1480 B.C. It is inferred from this that Israelite tribes existed in Canaan at that time. But here,

again, the interpretation of the names, especially of the latter one, is recognized as very doubtful. Besides, they are the names of places, not tribes; and if the reading be correct, it would only prove that some Semites, probably descendants of Abraham, had left their names on places in Palestine in early times, perhaps even before the Israelites went down into Egypt. The name Jacob, especially, must have been well known in the Semitic world in those early ages. Among the names of autonomous Hyksos chieftains, inscribed on Egyptian scarabs, there is one which appears to read 'Jacob-el.' It is possible that this chieftain may have been called after the patriarch, whose name may have been in high favour at the Egyptian court, but—what is just as likely—he may have had no connection with him. Indeed, there is now evidence that the name 'Jacob' is much older than the date at which the patriarch must have lived. Dr. Pinches has discovered the personal name *Ya-ḥub-ilu* on contract tablets of the time of the Babylonian king Sin-muballit, the predecessor of Hammurabi, as early as about 2150 B.C.,¹ and the contracted or hypocoristic form *Yaḥubu* (exactly like 'Jacob') also occurs. We have thus monumental evidence that the names Jacob and Joseph were well known, perhaps common, in the Semitic world before even the days of Abraham. Looking at the matter from this wide point of view, it is exceedingly doubtful if the place-names Jacob-el and Joseph-el in Southern Syria, assuming the reading of them to be correct, prove the existence of what may be called Israelite tribes in that district in the reign of Thothmes III. It is admitted by all scholars, Professor Burney included, that the Joseph tribe can hardly have been in Canaan at this time; and as for Jacob-el, all that may safely be concluded from it is that some Semitic chieftain named Jacob, probably the Biblical patriarch, had implanted his name on a place in Palestine, or that some of his descendants had done so. But whether the place was inhabited by tribes who could be described as Israelites, we have no means of determining.

At the same time, apart from these considerations, we think that there can be little doubt that there were numerous Israelites in Canaan all along, who never migrated to Egypt. Whether Burney's theory be correct that only the Joseph tribes sojourned there, is a matter of dispute, on which little or no direct evidence is available. But

¹ Similarly *Yaḥub-ilu* also occurs at the same age.

judging from what usually happens in such cases, some Israelite families must undoubtedly have remained in Palestine (especially in parts where the famine was not so severe) during the residence of the others in Egypt, and it is quite likely that small detachments from the main body may have left Egypt from time to time, and settled and multiplied at Hebron, round the tombs of the patriarchs, or elsewhere. We know at least that parties of Israelites made raids from Goshen into Palestine during the sojourn (1 Ch 7^{21, 22}), and if the road were open for such raiders, it must have been used frequently by peaceful Israelites who wished to return to their ancestral domains. Inter-course certainly went on between the Israelites in Goshen and Palestine (cf. Gn 50^{4a}), and there was nothing to hinder any who desired to return after the famine was over. The fact that all the family heritages were well known at the time of the Conquest seems to confirm these views, for if no Israelite families had remained in Canaan, and there had been no coming and going for over four centuries, the location of these sites would have faded from memory. It seems probable, therefore, that there were Israelites in Canaan, in stray detachments at least, during the time the others were in Egypt.

But, while this is no doubt true, it affords no ground for the view that the term 'Israel' on Merenptah's stele refers to these people. Even though we assume the position of Burney, and hold that many of the tribes remained in Canaan, this gives no satisfactory explanation of the statement on the stele. For the tribes of Asher, Gad, Dan, and Naphtali, who were among those that remained according to his theory, were not regarded as of true Israelite stock. They were descended from sons of handmaids, not full wives, and as they were not purely Israelite by race, they were considered, even long after the Exodus, as holding an inferior position, without full tribal rights or claim to a full position in Israel. Their full entrance into the Israelite community was not won until long afterwards. This explains the words of Jacob about Dan (Gn 49¹⁶). It accounts also for the failure of Asher, Gad, and Dan to answer Deborah's call to arms (Jg 5¹⁷), and their evident separation from the rest of Israel at that time. No doubt the Naphtali tribe also would have withheld its support, if its geographical position had not made its adherence necessary. The names, too, of Asher, Gad,

and Dan imply that these tribes were not at first pure Yahweh worshippers, but adhered to pagan forms of cultus. 'Asher' is known to have been a form of the moon-god, 'Gad' was the god of Fortune (Is 65¹¹), and 'Dan' was a title of the sun-god. Viewing the matter in this light, we can easily see that Merenptah's statement 'Israel is destroyed' cannot refer to these tribes, who could not have been known under the true name of Israel. Would the Pharaoh or his scribe apply the name 'Israel' to some concubine tribes who were known not to be purely Israelite by race?

The fact is, that the statement on the stele cannot possibly refer to any mere section of Israel, or to stray detachments. From the wording of it, it is clear that it refers to the main body—the 'Israel people,' as a whole. One cannot imagine Pharaoh applying to a mere portion, or to some scattered fragments in Canaan, the particular name which represented the entire confederacy. The statement can only be explained on the supposition that Israel as a settled and organized whole was located in Palestine at the time.

There is another way of looking at the matter. If the Exodus had not yet taken place, as the upholders of the later-date theory assert, the main body of Israelites must still have been in Goshen. These people were known to the Egyptians as 'Israel.' As a part of the wide Hebrew race, descended from Eber, they were spoken of as 'Ibhri or Hebrews, and foreigners generally referred to them as such, but in other connexions and among themselves, the name 'Israel' was used. 'Who is Jahweh?' said Pharaoh, 'that I should obey his voice to let Israel go?' (Ex 5²). 'Let us flee from Israel,' the Egyptians said, 'for Yahweh fighteth for them' (Ex 14²⁵). 'There was not one of the cattle of the Israelites dead' (Ex 9⁷). These and many similar references may be to some extent a reading back of the name into the period of the sojourn, but it cannot be denied that the tribes which dwelt in Egypt were well known in the land under the name 'Israel.' Is it not very strange, therefore, that the Pharaoh should set up a stele in Egypt with the statement 'Israel is destroyed,' meaning a people in Canaan, while at this very time the only people known throughout Egypt as 'Israel' was still dwelling secure and untouched in Goshen? Who would the Egyptian readers of the stele (for, after all, it was meant for them) understand by the term? Acquainted as they were

with only one 'Israel,' the people who had dwelt for several centuries in their own midst, they must have regarded Merenptah's statement as inexplicable and even absurd, while the numerous Israelites who looked at it must have been amazed at its evident misrepresentation or falsity. The state-

ment can only be satisfactorily explained on the assumption that the Exodus had already taken place, and that the people known to the Egyptians as Israel was now settled in Canaan and coming into prominence as an organized confederacy.

Contributions and Comments.

New Babylonian Light upon the Old Testament.

MR. GADD'S publication of new light from Babylonia touching the fall of Assyria will be still fresh in the minds of readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, and the object of this brief paragraph is to draw attention to the importance for Old Testament students of some new texts just published by his colleague at the British Museum, Mr. Sidney Smith. The latter's *Babylonian Historical Texts* (Methuen, 1924) contains plates, transliteration, translation, and discussion of the tablets in question. Of these the first provides new details concerning Esarhaddon's Egyptian campaigns, among them a reference to an Assyrian defeat in 675 B.C., which, it is conjectured, may be the one classical authors ascribed to the reign of Sennacherib, and the original source of the story of the miraculous destruction of the Assyrian army.

There is much to be said in favour of this view, which is of the greatest interest for the narrative in 2 Kings 18. Next, a Persian verse account of Nabonidus, seemingly a piece of hostile propaganda, suggests that the unfortunate Babylonian king was, contrary to the usual view, unpopular with the priesthood. Mr. Sidney Smith gives reasons for conjecturing that Nabonidus was probably of Syrian origin, and for the novel and noteworthy suggestion that Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Daniel is really 'a reflection' of Nabonidus.

Yet another valuable discovery adds to our knowledge of the campaigns of Nabonidus in 553-552 B.C. We are told how he went through Amurru (*i.e.* the west country) to Tema—apparently after conducting a siege in Adummu (Edom). This Tema or Teima is identified with the well-

known site in North Arabia; and since it is known that Nabonidus held court there for a few years, it is easy to understand why a famous Aramaic inscription from Teima, independently ascribed to this period, bears various marks of Assyrian or, rather, Babylonian influence (G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 196 ff.). Not to enlarge upon these texts, it will be seen that they show that Palestine in the middle of the sixth century B.C. was in no quiescent state. There was no tame submission to the Babylonian overlordship; there was a Babylonian court established at the very important caravan centre of Teima, and the proximity of the famous antiquarian king might well have been not without some influence upon his friends and supporters in Palestine itself. There are other points of interest in Mr. Smith's texts, but enough has been said to indicate their value for Old Testament problems.

It may be added that in the recent excavations at Ur it was found that Nebuchadnezzar's temple appeared to have received an interesting innovation (C. L. Woolley, *The Antiquaries' Journal*, 1923, p. 327). In place of a 'crowded complex of buildings' there had been made 'an open temple suitable for and therefore presumably intended for public worship. . . . Irresistibly, we are reminded of the biblical legend of the "Three Children." ' That Nebuchadnezzar should make a golden image was nothing new, the trouble was that he ordered everybody to fall down and worship at the sound of the music. In other words, 'the public was to attend and participate in the service.' 'Such an innovation,' writes Mr. Woolley, 'and the legend must have had some historical background to give it probability, is precisely what we should deduce from the archaeological evidence—

that Nebuchadrezzar introduced a new plan of building to accommodate a new form of worship.'

STANLEY A. COOK.

Cambridge.

time when there was nothing but God,' a truth which needs more thinking of by theologians and common folk than it seems to get.

J. M. BALLARD.

Falkirk.

Two Translations in St. John's Gospel.

(a) JN 10⁹. It is rather peculiar, when one observes it closely, how in chap. 10¹⁻²⁸, the substantive τὰ πρόβατα sometimes, after classical usage, takes a singular verb (vv.^{3, 4} once, ²⁷), but sometimes the plural (vv.⁴ once, ⁵ thrice, ^{8, 10} twice, ^{14, 16} twice, ²⁷ once, ²⁸). Possibly the latter when the thought applies most directly to the persons symbolized rather than to the symbol, the sheep.

But in v.⁹ an ambiguity arises. A.V. translates 'By me if any man enter in, he shall be safe, and shall go in and out, and find pasture.' But whereas the two verbs in the middle of the sentence fit the Shepherd well (cf. 1 S 18¹¹), the first and last apply much better to the sheep, whose safety and feeding are the real concern. So translate 'If any man enter in through me, they (*the sheep*) shall be safe, and shall go in and out and find pasture.'

This view is taken by Mr. G. H. French, a Roman Catholic writer whose commentary on St. John's Gospel (John Murray) has several fresh and original suggestions.

(b) JN 17⁵. There is first παρὰ σεαυτῷ qualifying unmistakably the verb δόξασον; then, at the end of the sentence is παρὰ σοί, translated usually as if it qualified εἶχον—'The glory which I had with thee before the world was.' But in the first place, why should παρὰ σοί in that case be left to come so emphatically at the end? In the second, would not the Greek have run in that event, πρὸ τοῦ εἶναι τὸν κόσμον? And why should not παρὰ σοί go as the order suggests with εἶναι, making one composite idea 'before the world existed alongside of thee'?

The words seem to me quite inevitably to bear this translation. But I am possibly influenced by my love of the resultant idea. The pre-existence of the Divine Son—as against Arius' ἦν πρὸ ἐτε οὐκ ἦν—is then balanced by the complementary truth as to Creation, which is *not* co-eternal with the Father. There was a time *before* the world existed alongside God; the apophthegm of the Persian folk-tales: 'Once upon a time there was a

Jeremiah xiii. 21.

THE rendering of the R.V. either in the text or in the margin does not yield a satisfactory sense, (1) That adopted in the text, 'What wilt thou say, when he shall set (thy) friends over thee as head, seeing thou thyself hast instructed them against this?' does violence to the usual order of the Hebrew. אֶלְפִים לְרֹאשׁ requires to be transposed to the first clause. Even with that change the meaning remains obscure.

(2) The rendering in the margin follows the Hebrew, and also the LXX order closely. The subject of the first clause is not Yahweh as above, but the foe from the North, *i.e.* the Babylonians themselves. Jeremiah depicts the amazement of Jerusalem when Babylon metes out her punishment. This is the view of the LXX—'What wilt thou say, when he shall visit thee, seeing thou hast instructed them against thee, even (thy) friends to be head (over thee).' The difficulty here is to get sense out of לְרֹאשׁ. The LXX affords us little help; its μαθήματα εἰς ἀρχήν, 'lessons for rule,' is quite enigmatical. The Hebrew text אֶלְפִים is to be retained. The irony for Judah is that those whose friendship they had abused were become instruments of punishment.

(3) I would suggest a slight alteration of the text, *i.e.*, if לְרֹאשׁ cannot by itself be translated 'formerly.' If we read לְרֹאשֶׁנָּה, we get a satisfactory sense, and one in keeping with Jeremiah's teaching. 'What wilt thou say, when they (the Babylonians) shall visit (punishment) upon thee, seeing thou didst train them against thee—thy friends in the past.'

Here is Judah's tragedy. She might still have retained alliance with Babylon, as Jeremiah repeatedly urged. But her politicians were blind and faithless. So the former friends marched against Jerusalem as the dreaded foe from the North. Judah by perfidious courses had trained Babylon against her, and sealed her own doom.

H. A. WILLIAMSON.

Lochee, Dundee.

Entre Nous.

SOME TOPICS.

Friendship.

Miss Maude Royden has collected ten sermons and published them with the title *The Friendship of God* (Putnams; 3s. 6d. net). The idea of friendship runs through all the sermons. First comes a talk on the need of men for friendship, 'Without a friend thou canst not live well.'

'People have over and over again said to me, "I only want to be loved; I only want to be of use." Is that a small thing to ask? What on earth could a man want *more* than to be loved? "I only want to be loved." He that seeketh love shall lose it, because there is some strange quality in that desire for love, that desire to *get* rather than to *give*, which isolates him, which makes him lonely: I speak of what I know. I do not think that there is anyone here who desired friends more than I did when I was a girl, or had them less. And I am persuaded that it was because I was more concerned with my desire to be loved, my desire to be wanted, than I was conscious of other people's desire to be loved and to be wanted. And the first thing you have to do (and, indeed, it is the hardest thing of all) is to forget your hunger and thirst for love, and to remember that all the world is hungry. You, perhaps, can *give* even when you cannot *get*.'

The second sermon in the volume is on 'The Friendship of God.' 'If Jesus be not above all thy friend thou wilt be very sad and desolate.' The very first sermon Miss Royden preached is in this volume, and though its title is 'The Laws of Life,' it also is on friendship, for 'faith in the trustworthiness of God—in the fact that He is the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever—is surely the very foundation of friendship with Him. He could not "call us friends" if He were capricious or uncertain, for we should be in fact His slaves.'

Even the untheologically minded will find an appeal in these sincere quiet talks. But do not be misled. These are not moral essays. They are sermons suffused with passion for the winning of souls.

Public Worship.

'I do not think that we ought to begin a public service of worship by confessing our sins. I do not think that is the way that penitence really arises

in the human soul. I always feel the right place for a confession of sin is that in which it comes in the Holy Communion Service of the Church of England; not at the beginning, but just before the climax, for it is when we are closest to God that we are most sorry for what we have done wrong. When we compare ourselves with one another we shall always find someone a little worse than ourselves; but when we come near to God, that cry of St. Peter's, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man!" breaks from our lips. And so at the Holy Communion Service, when we are just approaching the altar, then is the moment when penitence breaks over us like a flood.'¹

Women and the Ministry.

The one hundred and fifth volume of the *Christian World Pulpit* (James Clarke; 7s. 6d. net) has just been issued. It contains as excellent and as varied matter as usual. First comes a sermon by Dean Inge, and there are six others by him scattered throughout the volume. Towards the end we come to one by Miss Maude Royden, to whose volume on 'Friendship' we have drawn attention above.

Miss Royden's sermon was preached in the City Temple in connexion with the Jubilee of its opening, and so it is natural that she should speak of the decisive step which the City Temple took when they invited a woman to be joint minister there.

There are as yet very few women preachers in this country, whereas in America there are about seventy-five ordained women in the Congregational Ministry alone. But now there are signs of movement here, as, for example, the Report on 'Women and the Ministry' at the last Wesleyan Conference. But the actual movement is slow, and so we should consider attentively what Miss Royden has to say on the subject. To her this struggle 'is the last, and goes deepest of any struggle that is made by women to claim equality of opportunity with men.'

'I want to make it understood by those who do not realize how tremendous its importance seems to some of us—I want to show just why it is that this thing goes so deep. You see, for a man to say that women have not sufficient physical endurance or physical strength for certain kinds of work, or perhaps for public life, may be a misconception,

¹ A. Maude Royden, *The Friendship of God*, 126.

but it is not an insult; it is simply a statement of what such a man believes to be true. Even to say that a woman lacks intellectual power does not go so deep. It may be wrong; I think it is wrong, but it does not hit the very nature of a woman. But to say, as it is said to-day, that a woman may have the capacity to speak and the power to speak and the intellectual ability to speak; that she may even speak as well as a man, but that she must not speak in a church because it is a consecrated building, is an insult to the very depths of a woman's nature. It means something far more than intellectual inferiority or physical inferiority; it means that there is something in the very nature of a woman which desecrates a holy place.'

Miss Royden then goes on to ask whether the world has anything to gain by the coming of women into the spiritual office of the Church, beyond what is gained by an act of justice. She believes that it has: that women will bring something new to Christianity—something which was implicit in the teaching of Christ in the beginning, but which is new in the sense that the world has not yet realized it. And the new apprehension which she believes women will bring is that the world is not a battlefield, but a home. 'And the nations not enemies but brothers, and God in the last resort not a Judge, or Sovereign, or a Lawgiver, but a parent.'

The only Gospel in which the parable of the Prodigal Son is found is St. Luke, and scholars agree that the Evangelist was almost certainly indebted to a woman for it. It was she who remembered that Christ had said, God is your Father, and the world is not a battlefield, or a law court, but a home. 'Is there in all religion a lesson that the world needs more at this moment? Is there in all the realm of man's imagining a conception of God, which perfectly received, could do more to bind up the bleeding wounds of the world, reinstate civilization, and bind together once more the nations in that brotherhood which Christ proclaimed than this conception—that God is our Father and our Mother, and that, because He is so, the law of which He is the giver is a law of love and this world a home?'

The Sport of Climbing.

The Rev. E. W. Shephard-Walwyn has published another volume of 'Chats with Boys and Girls.' His title is *Be a Sport* (Allenson; 3s. 6d. net). Mr. Shephard-Walwyn is always forceful and direct, and never dull. This is how he deals with the sport of Climbing:

Now when we get to the top of a thing we always get a stunning surprise. We never find there what we expected.

A master climbed the school bookcase, and found there piles of musty bread and butter, which the boys had thrown up during the morning 11 a.m. interval. That was hardly what he expected! . . .

The surprise that awaits most people when they reach their 'top,' takes the shape of an ugly, long word called Disillusionment.

If you reached so high a 'top' of popularity in games, that the others chaired and cheered you after every match, singing, 'He's a jolly good fellow,' you would soon be sick of the very sound of their voices.

Many, when they have obtained everything that money can bring to them, wave about in the air in a helpless flabby way, like the caterpillar at the top of a flower-stalk.

They are at their wits' ends to think of new excitements, new ways of amusing themselves. They invent things like the silly 'freak' dinners that are given in the West End of London.

I hope what I have said so far will lessen your zeal for the unsatisfying ordinary 'climbing' of most people.

And yet this climbing must be done to a certain degree. You must stick to your work at school, and do your best in business. That is all right as long as another kind of climbing is going on in your heart at the same time. I mean the climbing up to the Steep Path of Doing Right against inclination.

About this kind of climbing Mr. Shephard-Walwyn has five things to say, and he hangs them on the five letters C, L, I, M, B.

C is 'Choose your Guide.' For there is no safer Guide up the steep path of doing right, and it was of Him that St. Paul said, 'I am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him.'

L is 'Looking up.' For in fighting sin we must never look at it, but always *up* into the glorious face of Jesus Christ, and He will pull us up out of danger.

I is 'Impediments.' These are the things which, though not actually sinful, weight us down in climbing to Heaven. One of them is getting up late.

M is the 'Map of the Way.' The Bible is our Map of the way up the precipitous path of right doing.

B is 'Bringing Others.' In climbing the Alps tourists are roped together, so that if one slips the others can help him to right himself, and so in climbing the heavenly way it is easier and safer for us if we are helping others along.

'Christ in me.'

In 1899 the foundation of the Student Christian Movement in Russia was laid. From that year until the time of his death in 1919, Baron Paul Nicolay led the movement. A short account of

his life and work has been written by Greta Langenskjold. The title is *Baron Paul Nicolay* (Student Christian Movement; 6s. net). The biography has been very well translated by Ruth Evelyn Wilder.

The following letter is Baron Nicolay's answer to a young person who told him that she did not know if she could work with other Christians, as she had difficulty with the doctrine of the Atonement:

'I remember what it cost me spiritually to "stand on my own feet," to be "under the law of Christ" but free from "the law of men." I wanted to be faithful and conscientious in my relation to God and His Word, but without letting men put their stamp on me, forcing me to imitate them in dogma or phraseology. . . . To me "Christ in me" has meant more than "Christ for me," as my experience has been more along that line. That does not mean that the other concept is unnecessary or superfluous. He reveals Himself to one person more from one angle, to another from another, and we gradually realise that the different ways do not contradict but rather complement each other.

'But what makes you think that you must feel isolated among Christians? He who says of Christ "my Lord and my God" he is certainly a Christian. It is wonderful that the Christians' unity does not consist in unity of forms and expressions, but in the unity of the Spirit. Christ loves His flowers, not wanting them to imitate each other but that each in his own special way should try to resemble Him—that there might be "unity in diversity." "One is your Master—Christ," not men. That makes us *free*, but *yielded* to Christ.'

A TEXT.

1 Kings xix. 3: 'He arose, and fled for his life.'

The title of Mr. Boreham's latest volume is *Wisps of Wildfire* (Epworth Press; 5s. net). It was suggested to him by a swagman. The night was dark and the swagman had a long trudge before him. Suddenly the sky became pyrotechnic with wildfire, and he set out sure that 'a few wisps of wildfire would light things up.'

The volume is in Mr. Boreham's old manner, and there are many things in it that will light up the traveller's path. One of the chapters deals with the flight of Elijah. It is headed 'A Nervous Breakdown.' Had it been a spiritual, rather than a nervous breakdown, the treatment, Mr. Boreham says, would have been different. It would not have been companionship, nourishing food and drink, a glowing fire and the boon of sleep.

But the pity of it was that the breakdown might have been prevented had Elijah not thought—and he had reason so to think—that he was standing alone against the world, the flesh, and the devil.

Francesca Alexander has a poem in which she

tells of a hermit who dwelt in a cave among the mountains. He fasted and prayed, and endeavoured by every means in his power to purge his soul of all evil and adorn it with spiritual beauty. He fancied that he alone cared about such things; and as, from his cave, he sometimes saw at night the twinkling lights of the cottages about the pineclad valleys, he wept that the people dwelling in them had no love for higher things. One day, however, he was commanded to set out on a journey among the towns and hamlets round about him. All sorts of unlikely people were moved to open their hearts to him. He was astonished at the world's wealth of hidden goodness. He returned to his cave, and, of an evening, found a new delight in contemplating the valley that lay below. He thought, as he

... saw the twinkling star-like glow
Of light, in the cottage windows far—
How many God's hidden servants are!

'When a minister is depressed by the dearth of conversions, he should indulge in a little arithmetic. He should carefully count his converts and put down the number on a sheet of paper. He should then read the story of Jesus, culminating in the record of the day of Pentecost. He should then multiply the figure on the sheet of paper by three thousand; and it will not be far out. Or, if this does not produce the desired effect, let him read the story of Elijah. He will then multiply the number on his sheet of paper by seven thousand. The secretaries who compile the ecclesiastical returns, and the statisticians who tabulate the official figures, may shake their heads and decline to admit the result of these computations among their elaborate and carefully-prepared returns; but never mind! They strain out the gnat and swallow the camel. The figures that they reject are at least as accurate as many that they embalm and immortalise. If the Old and New Testaments mean anything, they mean that my suggestion is perfectly sound.

'There is such a thing as the Church outside the Churches, the Church that is three thousand or seven thousand times as strong, in point of numbers, as the Church within the Churches. There ought, of course, to be no such Church. If, in Elijah's day, the Church outside the Churches had displayed the courage of its convictions, the prophet's faith might have been saved from shipwreck. He could never, then, have lifted to heaven that bitter cry, "I, even I only, am left!"'

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